THE AMERICAN WEST

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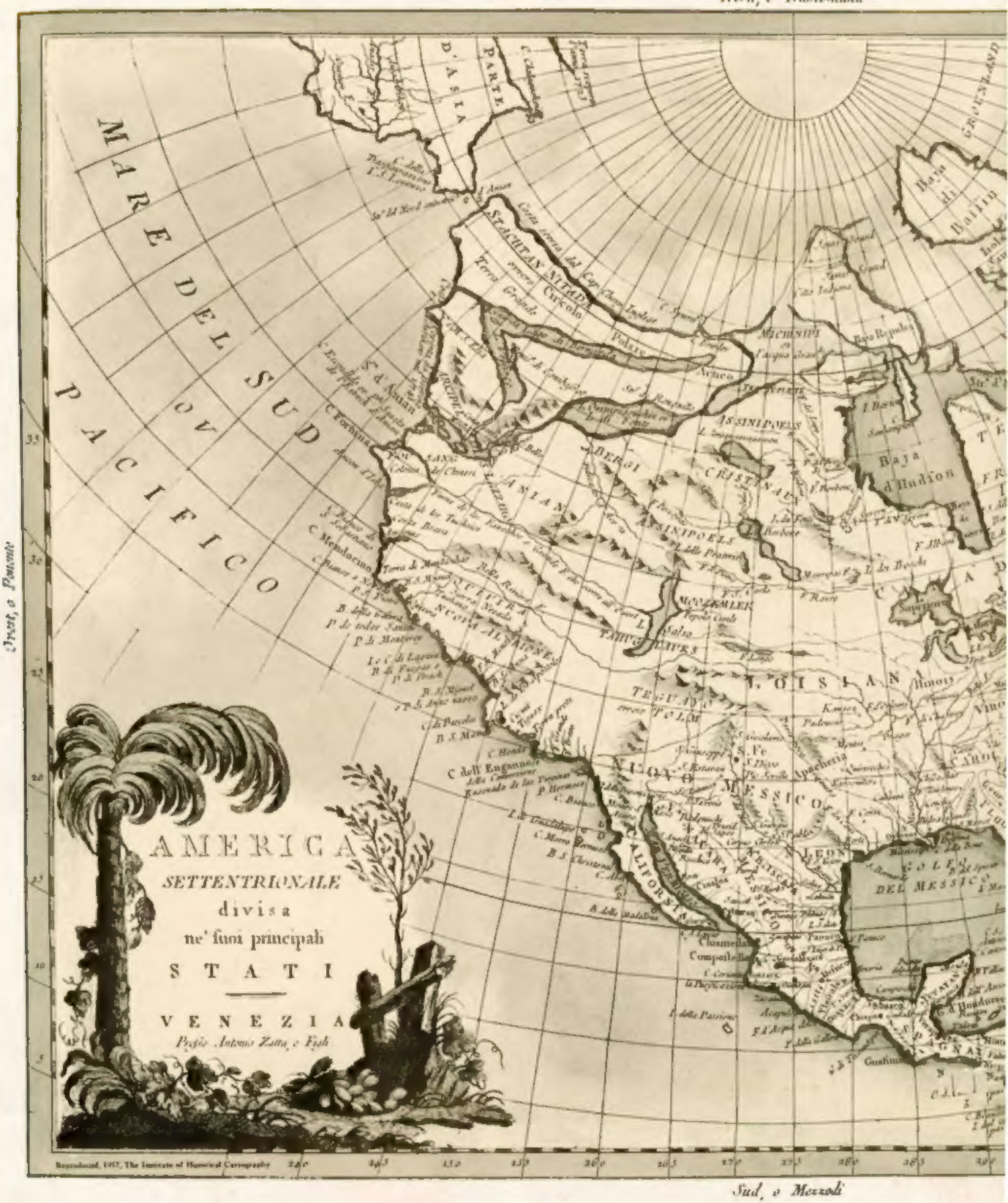

Antonio Zatta's map of North America was published in Venice in 1785. It demonstrates the lack of knowledge and the mythical beliefs still attached to that vast region after nearly three hundred years of exploration and settlement even though much more information was actually available. There is considerable distortion of many geographical features as to size and relative position, yet there are many familiar place names. The present areas of the Pacific Northwest, western Canada, and Alaska are almost unrecognizable, while the mythical Straits of Anian and the long-sought-for Northwest Passage are clearly visible. We have intentionally cut the map so that the segment shown on the front cover defines the vast area of the American West.

FROM *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, VOL. I, BY CARL I. WHEAT

THERE IS NO AREA OF THE COUNTRY WITH A HISTORY MORE INTERESTING AND MORE DISTORTED IN THE PUBLIC MIND THAN THE AMERICAN WEST. THE STRUGGLES OF THE PIONEER AMERICAN TO CONQUER THE LAST FRONTIER HAVE CAUGHT AND RETAINED THE IMAGINATION OF THE PUBLIC TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT A VERITABLE MYTHOLOGY HAS DEVELOPED AROUND THE OLD WEST UNTIL DREAMS AND REALITY HAVE BECOME ALL BUT INDISTINGUISHABLE. I WOULD NOT DENY HOLLYWOOD THE INCOME NOR THE PUBLIC THE RECREATION OF THE MYTH OF THE "WILD WEST," BUT I BELIEVE THAT WE ALSO DESERVE A FACTUAL HISTORY ON WHICH WE CAN BUILD AND MAINTAIN THE RICHLY DESERVED RESPECT AND ADMIRATION FOR THE TRULY GREAT FEAT OF DEVELOPING THE WEST.

THIS IS THE CHALLENGE THAT WILL FACE **THE AMERICAN WEST.** THIS IS, OF COURSE, A CHALLENGE THAT FACES ALL HISTORIANS, BUT FEW FACE A FIELD MORE CLUTTERED WITH DISTRACTION. I AM CONFIDENT THAT **THE AMERICAN WEST** WILL PROVIDE THIS NECESSARY HISTORICAL SERVICE, AND I WOULD JOIN WITH ALL THOSE WHO LOVE THE GREAT AMERICAN WEST TO CONGRATULATE YOU ON YOUR DETERMINATION TO PERFORM THIS SCHOLARSHIP AND TO WISH YOU REAL SUCCESS.

GALE McGEE, U. S. SENATOR, WYOMING

THE

AMERICAN WEST

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THE AMERICAN WEST

Magazine of the Western History Association

Winter 1964, Volume I, Number 1

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6 **A Greeting and a Challenge** *by Ray A. Billington*

8 **Frémont's Arizona Adventure** *by Bert M. Fireman*

20 **From Sagebrush to Hay and Back Again** *by Philip W. Sultz*

Historians of the West

32 FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER *by Wilbur Jacobs*

36 HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON *by John W. Caughey*

40 WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB *by Joe B. Frantz*

44 **Western Folklore and History** *by Walker D. Wyman*

52 **Gateway to the West** *by John W. Jenkins*

59 **Shreds from Henry Wagner's Mantle** *by Archibald Hanna, Jr.*

65 **Western Books**

80 **About the Authors**

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Membership in the Association is open to anyone interested in the history and culture of the American West. Membership is solicited, and inquiries should be addressed to the secretary, John Porter Bloom, 1501 Slade Court, Falls Church, Virginia. Annual dues (including subscription to the magazine) $7.50, Sustaining Member (annually) $15.00, Patron (annually) $100.00 or more, Life Membership (to be paid in a twelve-month period) $150.00.

PHOTO BY PHILIP W. SULTZ

A Greeting and a Challenge . . .

The handsome copy of *The American West* that you hold in your hands and the Western History Association, whose official journal it is, are alike the result of the happy inspiration of a little group of western history buffs who early in 1961 fell to discussing the possibility of a meeting with others who shared their interests. Unlike most such inspirations, this produced results; for the enthusiasts responsible—K. Ross Toole, of the Museum of New Mexico, John Porter Bloom and Robert M. Utley, of the National Park Service, John Alexander Carroll, of the University of Arizona, Donald C. Cutter, of the University of Southern California, Walter Rundell, Jr., of Texas Woman's College, and Edgar I. Stewart, of Eastern Washington College—were too energetic to allow their dream to dissipate.

The result was a call to a "Conference on the History of Western America," to meet at Santa Fe, New Mexico, in mid-October, 1961. Preparations went forward apace; a brochure was issued inviting "writers and researchers, publishers and bookmen, librarians and archivists," and all others with a spark of interest in the American West "as a field of research and interpretation" to attend; a program of scholarly and not-so-scholarly papers was arranged; a special

exhibit of western art was assembled by the Museum of New Mexico. Hopefully the sponsors awaited the arrival of fifty or sixty persons; instead nearly three hundred assembled to feast their minds on a rich diet of history and ethnohistory, their eyes on the beauties of the autumnal New Mexico countryside where the aspens flamed in golds and yellows, and their egos on the unusual experience of mingling with others who saw the American West as the most exciting area for study and interest in all the world.

So spontaneous was the enthusiasm created by Santa Fe's hospitable atmosphere that one evening was hastily transformed into a "business meeting" where plans were discussed for a permanent organization that could arrange similarly pleasant conferences in the future. This meeting ended in the traditional manner, with the conversion of the original planning committee into an "Organization Committee" by the addition of a few new members to provide better geographical distribution. The new group set to work at once to plan a second conference to meet at Denver in mid-October, 1962, with the universities of Denver and Colorado as host institutions, and with a program designed to rival that at Santa Fe in variety and interest. As the plans progressed under the energetic direction of Professor Robert G. Athearn, and as a local arrangements committee headed by Professor Allen D. Breck surmounted the obstacles created by the burning of the hostelry scheduled as headquarters, others worked less spectacularly to prepare a constitution and rules for a permanent association to take shape during the conference.

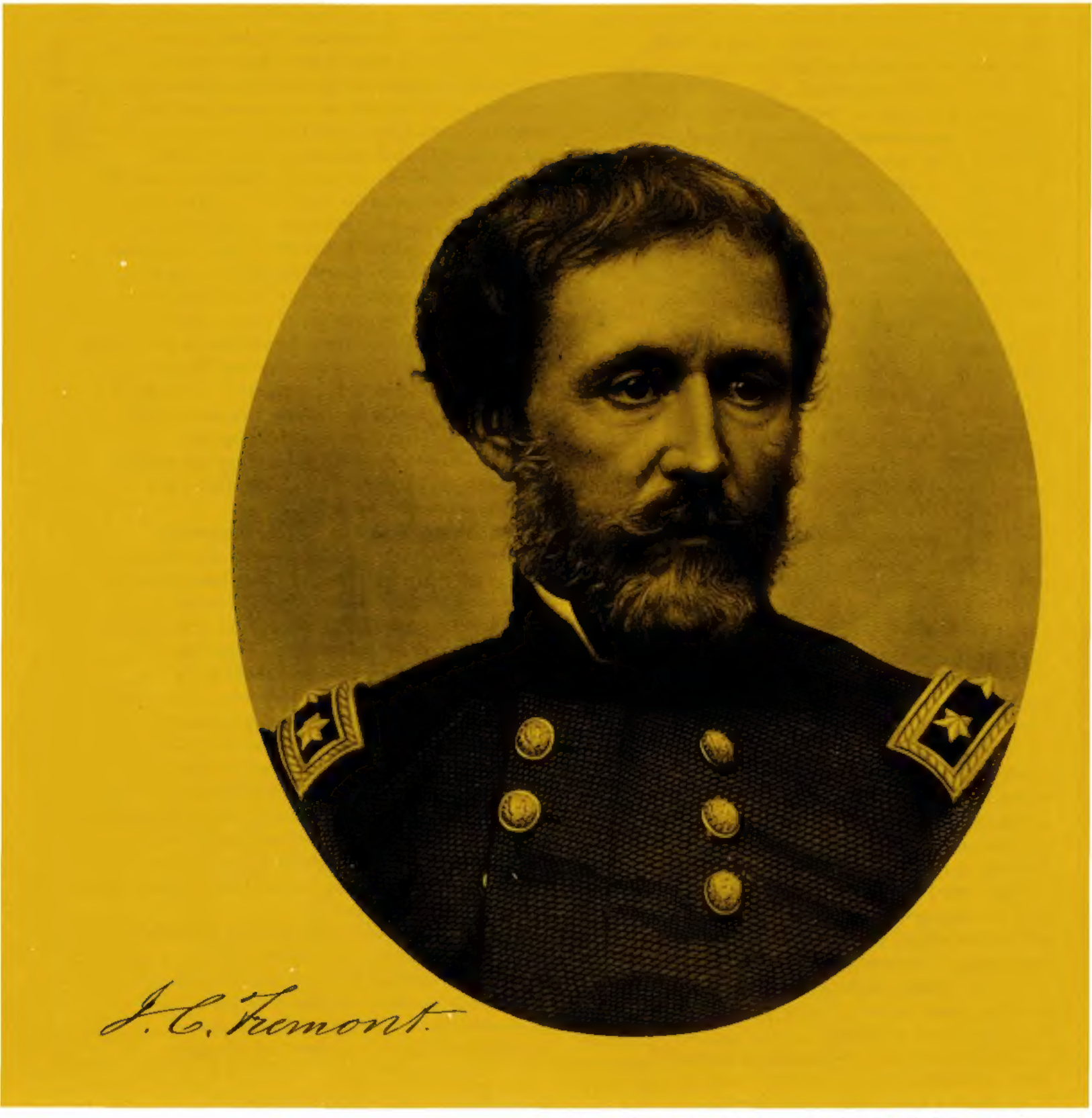
These efforts bore fruit when more than four hundred delegates from all the nation and a few European countries gathered amidst the modernistic splendors of the Denver Hilton Hotel. They listened to thirty-one papers that ran the gamut from history to literature to anthropology, enjoyed one dinner and two luncheon addresses, and responded bravely to a call for a business meeting where a constitution was adopted and officers elected for the Western History Association. Thus was born a new national society that even in its infancy has engendered more enthusiasm and attracted greater support than its most starry-eyed devotees believed possible.

The Western History Association is designed to serve as a meeting ground for all persons interested in the North American West, whatever their occupations and however unusual their interests. It hopes to attract as members historians, anthropologists, ethnohistorians, economists, sociologists, students of literature, and just plain Western buffs who enjoy immersing themselves in the glamorous details of the pioneer past. It has from its inception enjoyed the support of various corrals of The Westerners in the United States and abroad, and treasures this association as much as it does its relationships with the American Association for State and Local History or the American Studies Association. Its appeal is not alone to Americans but to Canadians and scholars and enthusiasts in Mexico, for the Association defines "West" in its broadest possible terms and plans in its programs and publications to pay proper attention to those often-neglected areas. Its purpose, in other words, is to "promote the study of the American West in all its varied aspects," by men and women in all walks of life and all fields of interest. By serving as a market place for their ideas it hopes to encourage the serious—and even the frivolous—writing and reading that will make our pioneer past better known and better understood by all people.

To further this objective its founders turned at once to the establishment of a quarterly journal that would mirror the broad interest of the Association. At its Denver meeting in 1962 the newly created executive committee agreed to accept the generous offer of the University of Utah to serve as host institution for that publication, and to make available the capable services of Dr. A. R. Mortensen as editor and of Professor C. Gregory Crampton as associate editor. These men, and the associates they have gathered about them, are determined to shape *The American West* into an outstanding journal, appealing alike to professional and amateur historians, and dedicated to the principle of supplying a wide audience with sound but readable accounts of the continent's most entrancing region. This first issue shows how wisely they have planned.

The American West is distributed to all members of the Western History Association. Those who read these words, whatever their occupation or interest, are cordially invited to join that Association, and to share in the exciting experience of exploring America's pioneer past, actually and vicariously.

... Ray A. Billington



ENGRAVING OF FRÉMONT, CIRCA 1878, FROM *American Portrait Gallery*, VOL. 5

Frémont's Arizona Adventure

In the evening of his life,
Frémont tried to recoup his fortune.

BY BERT M. FIREMAN

During most of four sunset years in his life, the mining frontier provided the Great Pathfinder the hope of "restoring the Frémonts' fortune." This supplemental chapter in the great Frémont epic shall not endeavor to alter or impugn the character and accomplishments of Frémont. Allan Nevins has made several thorough explorations into Frémont's life, and even now, I am told, is preparing a revision of his Frémont biography to include new material. I gladly accept Mr. Nevins' thoughtful examination of Frémont's greatness and his weaknesses, his scholarship, his technical accomplishments, the significance of his explorations, the tragedies of his business ventures, and the disappointments of his political escapades, although one critic of Frémont charged that Nevins "scrubbed hard" at Frémont's soiled hands and had too much defensive admiration for his hero.

Of the many historians who have studied Frémont, possibly too many did so with more admiration than objectivity. Mr. Nevins' essay on "Frémont as an Explorer" which appears as an introduction to the *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure* certainly is as critical as it is adoring. But none of the biographers, not even Frémont's brilliant wife or his unhappy daughter, penetrated very far into Frémont's service as governor of Arizona Territory. Perhaps they were misled by Bancroft's casual observation that ". . . Frémont was appointed merely that his chronic poverty might be relieved; and in Arizona he seems to have done nothing worse than neglect his duties. . . ." In both clauses Bancroft was guilty of understatement.

Very little has been written about Frémont in Arizona, although he was the most prominent federal appointee in the patronage-rich territorial period between the Civil War and Arizona's achievement of statehood in 1912. Until the current Junior Senator has risen to challenge that role, unquestionably Frémont was the best-known Arizonan of all time.

Yet he had very little in common with Arizona. It had not been included in his major explorations, although he had crossed Arizona in misguided zig-zag fashion in the spring of 1849 when he traveled from Taos, New Mexico, to California on borrowed money and in great despair at the end of his Fourth Expedition. Even so, in the midst of this "joyless adventure" on the stark desert along the Gila River, he was to stumble upon information that contradicts one critic's contention that Frémont was doomed all his life "to pursue rainbows and butterflies and mirages." Plodding toward California, where Jessie was to meet him, and he burdened with bad news to tell her, Frémont fell in with a party of Mexicans from Sonora. According to one version, in the

unpublished second part of his *Memoirs of My Life*, there were several hundred men, women, and children in the party. Dellenbaugh said there were twelve hundred persons in the expedition. They begged Frémont to escort them to the Colorado River, to frighten away threatening Indians. They told him the first news he had of the discovery of gold in California. His gloom was not so deep that he could not visualize good fortune ahead. Now the seventy-square-mile Mariposa estate in the Sierra he had acquired in an unhappy transaction handled by Consul Thomas O. Larkin was a bonanza instead of a misfortune. He engaged twenty-eight of the Mexican party to proceed to Mariposa and begin mining its streams on a grubstake basis.

Frémont made a fortune on the Mariposa but lost it all during the Civil War. After the war he became involved in railroad promotions—a story adequately told elsewhere, but through this means he must have become better acquainted with Arizona. In promoting the ill-fated Texas Pacific and attempting to revive the Memphis & El Paso, he was concerned with the route across Arizona that he had followed in part on his Fourth Expedition. He was a poor man—although not necessarily chronically so—when appointment to the governorship promised restoration of family prestige and pride. Jessie had been earning the family's living by writing magazine articles while, as she wrote to a friend more than a year before the Arizona opportunity was offered, "the General . . . finds his stomach growing strong on mills and mines. . . ." He was dreaming now of another fortune such as the Mariposa had yielded. In planning his railroad from the Mississippi to San Diego, apparently Frémont had become acquainted with a promotion-minded former delegate from Arizona—if he did not already know him as a neighbor from Jamaica, Long Island. Richard C. McCormick represented Arizona at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876, displaying selected gold and silver ore samples of promise surpassed only by boasts of the territory that had supported him as its secretary, governor, and delegate for a dozen years before. Nobody has documented the origin of Frémont's particular interest in appointment to the Arizona governorship. It could have been McCormick's idea. Frémont obtained the support of Republican party leaders and already had an admirer in the White House in President Rutherford B. Hayes as well as an ally beside the President, Lucy Hayes, who was a warm friend of Jessie. As early as 1849 when merchants in the little town of Sandusky, Ohio, decided there were too many Sanduskys around, Hayes, then a young attorney, had suggested Frémont's name in admiration for his western explorations. The town was renamed Frémont.

Frémont asked for the governorship of Arizona as payment for a debt owed him by the Republican party for fourteen years. He declined an offer of the vacant Idaho governorship, and turned to Zachariah Chandler, who had served three terms in the U. S. Senate from Michigan, for confirmation of this moral obligation of the party Frémont had first popularized as its first presidential candidate in 1856 and which, by his personal sacrifice, he assertedly saved in 1864.

Although Abraham Lincoln had at first considered Frémont's nomination for the presidency in 1864 by a convention of "radicals, western Germans and war Democrats" as a comical situation, within a few months it became increasingly clear that Frémont's candidacy could destroy Lincoln and perhaps the Union, by drawing off enough votes to give the office to General George McClellan.

By August the Republican National Executive Committee had decided that Lincoln could not be re-elected and so informed the President. Newspapers said the party was opposed to immediate peace, yet could not win the war. A proposal that both Lincoln and Frémont withdraw evidently was not seriously considered by Lincoln, but soon a parade of Republican leaders was making its way up the Hudson to Frémont's cottage near Tarrytown.

The poet John Greenleaf Whittier went to stay overnight by invitation, philosophically summing up his advice with the comment: "There is a time to do and a time to stand aside." Years later Jessie indicated this was the "deciding word" in Frémont's decision, but the general's appeal to Chandler for help in obtaining a territorial appointment in 1878 indicated he acted upon more direct considerations than Whittier's abstract challenge.

Recalling on May 23, 1878, that Chandler had come to see him in 1864 at the request of Mr. Lincoln's friends, Frémont reminded Chandler that it had been the Republican belief that Frémont's action would be of "deciding importance" in the coming campaign. Frémont said he had concurred in such views and acted

upon them—in other words, he withdrew from the campaign to gain a Republican if not necessarily a Lincoln victory.

> I declined for myself and friends the proferred stipulation of a share in the new Administration. . . . I now find myself compelled to rely temporarily upon the favor of the government and the object of this note is to say that if you do not consider your responsibility for the friendly assurances made by yourself and other party leaders on the occasion referred to, out of date . . . I would be much gratified if you will sustain . . . my request for a Territorial appointment. . . .

Chandler, at the time, is said to have offered at least three concessions for the withdrawal: first, a high command in the Union Army, which Frémont was wise to decline after his earlier failures in Missouri and West Virginia; second, an undetermined share of patronage for Frémont's friends, a goal they were better able to pursue than he was himself; and third, assurances that Montgomery Blair, the postmaster general, would be "wiped off the political map" for the audacity with which he and his family entourage, once Frémont's close friends, had criticized his conduct in the Missouri campaign and brought about his removal from the Western Command. Lincoln, a practical politician, quickly obtained Blair's resignation and thus paved the way to his own re-election.

Now, fourteen years later, Frémont humbly and politely asked for consideration in repayment for that service to the country. Chandler, in acknowledging the

President Rutherford B. Hayes's nomination of John Charles Frémont as governor of Arizona Territory. Governor Hoyt declined the appointment to be governor of Idaho, instead going to Washington Territory where he attained prominence on the Bench.

506

Washington, D. C.,
June 8 1878

To the Senate

of the United States:

I nominate

John C. Fremont of New York City, New York, to be Governor of the Territory of Arizona, vice John R. Hoyt, nominated to be Governor of the Territory of Idaho.

R. B. Hayes

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Arizona's original Territorial Capitol, hewn of pine logs, was used as a brewery, general merchandise store, and post office when General John C. Frémont reached Prescott in 1878. The capital had been returned to Prescott after a 10-year stay in Tucson. The original official building now being in private hands, the governor occupied temporary offices in the Yavapai County courthouse across the street from this building (see photo on right).

obligation, responded that he was without influence in the Hayes administration. But James G. Blaine and others recommended Frémont. On June 8, 1878, his nomination was submitted to the Senate and four days later was approved.

Mr. Nevins and the Frémont ladies, in their separate books, tell eloquently of Frémont's triumphant transcontinental journey to San Francisco, then on to Los Angeles and finally to Fort Yuma, which was the end of the railroad. The journey was thrilling except for a meeting, west of Yuma, with General William Tecumseh Sherman, just returning from an official tour of Arizona military posts. He thought Arizona a hellish place and warned Jessie that she would cry over the inconveniences and hardships.

It wasn't at all bad. The trip from Yuma to Prescott, recently re-established as territorial capital, was made in the best and most comfortable army vehicles, and with an adequate escort. The Frémonts took with them their daughter Elizabeth; their son Francis Preston Frémont, who was suffering from tuberculosis and possibly was an important reason for Frémont declining appointment to Idaho Territory; their dog Thor; and a Chinese cook, Ah Chung, who had been hired en route because he was experienced in Arizona culinary problems.

Housing was short in Prescott, but a prominent and agile local attorney opened his home—including such comforts as a grand piano, harp, and an extra Chinese cook—to the use of the Frémonts. Their host was Tom Fitch, one of the silver-tongued orators of the Pacific slope, a politician and lawyer who had been a willing lackey of the Central Pacific Railroad combine in California, Nevada, and Utah in turn. Once he had represented Brigham Young as a lobbyist in Washington. Now he was living by his wits in Arizona.

Frémont arrived in Prescott suffering from fatigue and fever, which caused a postponement for a few days of a gala reception. This situation permitted Jessie to assert her strength. Writing to her friend, Dr. William James Morton, who enjoyed the family's confidence because of his medical service to young Frank, she spoke of Arizona as a Siberia: "The General would find it exile but for me. With me he feels it a term of voluntary

Prescott, Arizona in 1880. (A) Frémont's rented home (B) County courthouse (used temporarily for Territorial offices) (C) M. Goldwater & Son General Merchandise.

ARIZONA HISTORICAL FOUNDATION

labor from involuntary causes and together we make the labor light, but oh, so much of it is uncongenial. . . ." Frémont being ill, Jessie boasted to the family friend: "I am governor and see everyone and settle things if needed. . . ."

Jessie's adaptability and intelligence soon put a different light upon her attitude toward Prescott. She found the people friendly, the presence of nearby Fort Whipple with its commissary concessions to old generals convenient, the local school a ready outlet for her outgoing personality and love of an audience, and her influence and leadership in the community appreciated. She helped the school, inspired the local Catholic priest, and could take credit for establishment of a hospital by such encouragement, but took a jaundiced view of local politics.

Frank Preston Frémont bloomed in the mountain air. He became a leading man in dramatic productions directed by the wife of General August V. Kautz, then commanding officer at Fort Whipple; he played the piano and played it well, all the way from the fleshpots of Whiskey Row to the officers' club at Whipple; he served as his father's private secretary—talk of nepotism be hanged; and a year after coming to Arizona his health was restored so that he was able to obtain a commission as a lieutenant in the 3rd Infantry and was sent to Dakota Territory. Failing health had forced his resignation from West Point several years before.

Elizabeth Benton Frémont had more love for beauty than she had patience with politics or memory for detail. In her spinsterhood more than thirty years later she allowed her recollections of Arizona life to be published in a small book, which unfortunately has been accepted and used by Frémont's biographers without adequate checking of source material. Their dependence upon the *Recollections* is evident in repetition of errors she made as she cried poor-mouth. She thought her father's salary as governor was $2,000 a year, although the federal register listed it as $2,600 a year, a sum rather small for the Frémont's tastes. To uphold their prestige, they went in debt, at one time owing the local bank $1,700.

As Mr. Nevins noted, Jessie "was as much the grande dame as ever; her husband was the same grave, reserved, courteous gentleman, a little quieter as the years passed. . . . Their pride permitted not the slightest recognition by word or gesture that they had fallen in fortune. . . ."

As soon as Frémont's bout with fever ended, he was

treated to a grand reception in which he was praised eloquently by several speakers, including Tom Fitch, who was making the best of his prior acquaintance with Frémont. It was believed that Frémont's national reputation would vault Arizona to statehood and put an end to the carpetbag rule which, until his arrival, had provided the territory with unknown and, some thought, indifferent leadership.

The press generally was generous in welcoming Frémont, although in Tucson—which recently had lost the capital to Prescott—there was sniping at the new governor. His foremost early critic was Editor John P. Clum, of the Tucson *Citizen*, a man of strong passions who had been carrying on a running fight against federal military officials. Clum was a Republican, but he showed Frémont no mercy, especially when the new governor established rapport with Democratic members of the legislature which soon convened in Prescott. Before the session began, Frémont, in the company of Judge Charles Silent, made a horseback tour to examine a group of mines and destitute Indians in Mohave County. Silent was a German-born lawyer who enjoyed a fine reputation as a promoter and railroad builder in California before his appointment to the territorial bench several months before Frémont's arrival.

Tom Fitch was on hand when the legislature convened. His presence was felt even where not seen. Fitch as a lawyer was a specialist in handling divorce decrees by legislative action. This was a practice Frémont did not approve, but could not easily stop. Among persons divorced by the legislature in 1879 was the territorial secretary, John J. Gosper. Like Frémont, he was an appointee of President Hayes and had been an aspirant for the governor's chair. Gosper lost a leg while leading Negro troops in the Civil War, a sacrifice he felt entitled him to direct reward. He had been cordial and helpful in getting the Frémonts settled upon their arrival in Prescott, but soon changed his attitude toward the governor. One cause of the breach was a misunderstanding with Judge Silent over his divorce. Gosper was part owner of the Phoenix newspaper which soon was criticizing Frémont, employing the old political trick of spreading rumors by denying belief in them—unquestionably he was father of the hope that Frémont would resign as governor.

The first legislature after Frémont's arrival provided him two major opportunities, the first to redeem himself politically, the second to supplement his income. He carried off the first very well, but didn't quite achieve the second.

Arizona was temporarily at peace with the Apaches, in one of the lulls between the effective severity of General George Crook's campaigns of surrender-or-be-slaughtered and peace missions typified by the idealism of Vincent Collyer and General O. O. Howard. A presidential order had been drafted to resettle friendly Pima Indians from the Casa Grande Valley in the nearby Salt River Valley. White settlers upstream had diverted irrigation water these Indians needed to feed themselves. In turn, the planned move would put them upstream from the rich valley whose heart is now the city of Phoenix. In so doing they would cut off part of the water supply of an area then just beginning to develop its agricultural potential. The white settlers were alarmed. Since Indian affairs were in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior, and the territorial governor answered to the same office, the Arizona legislature voted $2,000 to send Governor Frémont to Washington to plead Arizona's case. He and Judge Silent hurried away on the mission. To Frémont's credit, he performed this task well and soon. He appealed directly to Secretary Carl Schurz who was not only his boss but had been a Frémont admirer since 1856. Having served Arizona well at this first chore, Frémont telegraphed the happy news to his son who as his private secretary made the proper release to the press. This was followed, as might be expected, by pleasing editorials.

This trip to Washington furnished Frémont his first chance to exploit the major purpose of his Arizona adventure. We will recall Jessie's word that he already was concerned with "mills and mines" before receiving the appointment. During his first months in Arizona he exhibited great interest in its mining development and rode into the surrounding hills, examining mines. He advocated establishment of a branch mint in Arizona. He suggested revision of the territorial mining laws as an attraction to investors. He offered easy audience to mining promoters. And his companion on his trip to the East, Judge Silent, was Frémont's secret—or should we say silent?—partner in mining promotions they hoped to finance in New York. They were interested in two groups of mining claims, one in Mohave County and another in Yavapai County.

They lingered on in New York. Back home the gov-

ernor's official tasks devolved upon John J. Gosper, the territorial secretary. Already a disappointed office-seeker, unhappy with Judge Silent over his divorce, and himself actively occupied in mining and ranching, Gosper found that Frémont's absence used up his time without increasing his pay. His hostility became common gossip. The Tucson *Citizen* seized every opportunity to complain about Frémont's absence, and was joined by other papers. By the time he returned to Arizona in August, after an absence of six months, Frémont's success in the Indian matter was largely forgotten as his unpopularity spread.

In New York he had been interviewed by a reporter from the New York *Herald*, making statements that were transmitted across the nation to be printed in the San Francisco *Call* on April 27 and in other western papers. Frémont outlined a bold plan to turn the Colorado River into the lower basin of the Colorado Desert, the area now known as the Imperial Valley of Southern California, to form a vast "inland sea" that he said would change the climate of the region. The plan was ridiculed as impractical by the *Herald* in Los Angeles, where it had previously been proposed by a Dr. J. P. Widney. As long as eighty years ago Arizona sensed the eternity of its struggle with California over the waters of the Colorado River. Frémont was held up to contempt for not trying to develop the Colorado to irrigate fertile land in his own territory.

After his long absence, highlighted by this indiscretion, Frémont returned to Arizona with his popular image injured. Nevertheless, his persistent rival's paper fairly pointed out that he had done "considerable" for the territory in advancing her mines and mining interests. New York capitalists and mining engineers were to follow him to Arizona to survey prospects he and Judge Silent had advertised.

From this time forward Frémont pursued his mining and promotional efforts even more aggressively than he had been able to do during his first few months in Arizona. He was careful, however, to maintain a hidden role in most of his mining promotions. Judge Silent's name was used on contracts in which Frémont had a direct interest. This was done, the general admitted, because: ". . . I being governor, it avoided unnecessary talk."

Search of official mining records in Arizona reveals Frémont's name on only one claim, although he assuredly profited from many others either as commission broker, promoter, or silent partner. On November 10, 1879, a quartz mining claim was recorded in Yavapai County on the Copper King Mine in the Verde District. John C. Frémont and a prospector named James Biddle were identified as the claimants. The mine bordered the south boundary of the Eureka Mine—about which more in a moment. The nearby Green Crystal Claim had been recorded two weeks earlier in the name of Biddle and Frank Frémont. In these filings the irony of Frémont's efforts is evident. He never profited from these mining claims, although he tried his best to interest investors in the area. Later Judge Silent was said to have made a small fortune in the district, but not until Frémont's successor as governor of Arizona Territory, Frederick A. Tritle, a Nevada mining man, had organized a syndicate in New York for its development. Part of his success was the important strike that was made on the neighboring Eureka Claim during the grading of a wagon road. A vein of rich ore, fifty-six feet wide, was uncovered. It ran directly under the Frémont claim on the undeveloped Copper King Mine. Tritle interested a group of men including Eugene Jerome of New York City in development of the rich copper deposits. This became the great Jerome operation, subsequently acquired by William A. Clark, of Montana, United States Senator from 1899 to 1907, and still later was purchased by the Phelps Dodge Corporation, which was owned in part by the family of former Ambassador Lewis S. Douglas. The State Parks Board in Arizona is planning a mining museum at the Douglas Mansion, about a quarter-mile from the spot of Frémont's lost hope.

Otherwise, he kept his involvement in mining, ranching, and land development schemes carefully clothed behind the names of associates or restricted to documents that were not filed. Perhaps his misfortune with the Mariposa had indicated that more was to be lost than gained by being an owner of record.

In the fall of 1879, ostensibly because the Prescott altitude made her ill, Jessie left Prescott to live on Staten Island. Her health improved immediately, and she became surprisingly active as Frémont's representative and agent for mining and land promotions in New York.

If duty required that Frémont be in Arizona, close to his office and his mining interests, he was probably

benefited by Jessie's spritely efforts in New York. On November 9, 1879, she wrote a letter to the White House filled with optimism: ". . . I know it will please the President when I tell him of my fortune restored. . . ."

Frémont and his associates had sold the Silver Prince Mine and a group of claims surrounding it in the Bradshaw Mountains of Arizona. Unfortunately, no deed or bill of sale or cancelled check has been found to tell exactly what share of the proceeds of the mine accrued to the Frémonts, or even why it should have, since they were not listed as owners of record.

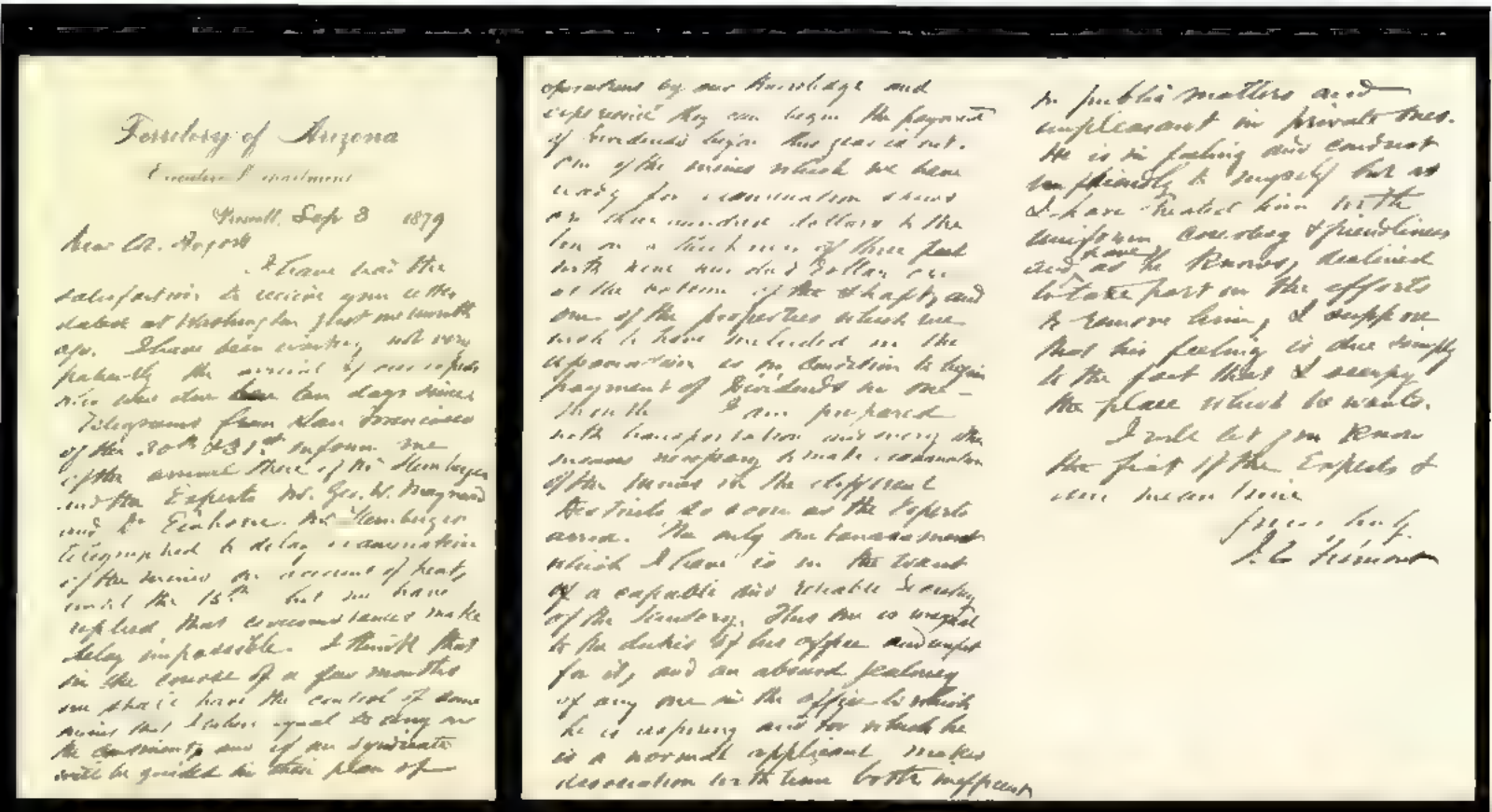
The Silver Prince Mining Company was incorporated in New York City, on April 27, 1880, by promoters with offices on Broadway, in Newark, New Jersey, and San Francisco. Even though records are not available that would tell how much of its two million dollars in stock Frémont controlled, he undoubtedly was in a strategic position because Silver Prince stock was used as collateral and fees in transactions he directed.

Spurred on by this initial success, the Frémonts became bolder. Jessie excused the general's absences by arguing that "no sitting on the nest and looking at the village [Prescott] can equal the work to be done by going to and fro. I think it will be found on record that Governor John P. Hoyt left often and he did absolutely nothing to advance the territory."

Their path was not strewn with roses. Judge Silent became involved in a political hassle charging him with neglect of his duties for mining interests. Frémont rallied to his defense, testifying to the White House that Silent was "absolutely reliable, honorable and true." At the same time he was trying to protect himself, admitting, ". . . to touch Judge Silent would be to touch me—would be to give the result of our splendidly prepared work to others who are already jealously anxious to seize it." That crisis passed with the acquittal of Judge Silent, but the controversy threatened their timetable for disposal of mining properties in northwestern Arizona. The Frémonts had attracted the interest of prominent mining engineers as well as investors. Abram S. Hewitt, past president of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, former Democratic National Committee chairman, son-in-law of Peter Cooper, and first American manufacturer of steel, was among these.

The general did not restrict his extra-curricular ac-

Letter from Frémont to Col. Rogers. You will note on the second page and running to the end, Frémont's comments on John J. Gosper, the Territorial Secretary. Although the man was giving him fits, Frémont was both charitable and calm toward him.



tivities to mining. Before coming to Arizona he confided to one of his sponsors, Senator James G. Blaine, that he intended to enter the stockraising business in Arizona. He later offered Blaine one-fourth interest in a vast coal, gold, and silver-mining undertaking in southern Arizona. This would involve acquisition of the San Rafael del Valle Rancho with a mineralized area of at least 100 square miles flanking the Santa Fe branch line which passed near famed Tombstone and entered Mexico at Nogales.

Another group of friends purchased a second cluster of mines near the Silver Prince in the Bradshaw Mountains south of Prescott, "all of them having very high grade ores," according to Frémont.

He returned to the East in a few months. At New York City in May of 1880 he made an agreement with Edgar Conkling, of Cincinnati, to share and purchase equal parts of four square leagues of land along the Yaqui River in Sonora, known as the San Juan del Rio Rancho. For one-half interest Frémont was "to obtain full recognition of the grant or concession from the government of Mexico." He was then to have an option to purchase the remaining half interest for a figure first set at $100,000 but a year later reduced to $80,000. To fulfill this contract Frémont intended to use his influence as governor of Arizona to persuade Mexican officials to issue a title that had been deferred since the original grant was made twenty-four years before. This agreement was not filed for record, but was locked in a safe at the White House. To expedite negotiations in Mexico, he made a second contract with Santiago Ainsa, member of a noted Sonora family. This contract was made in the name of Judge Silent, who now had moved to Tucson.

Frémont's next venture of note was also in Mexico, an attempt to secure a franchise for a railroad from Tucson to Point Lobos on the Gulf of California. For this he needed support in Congress—and had every expectation of receiving that.

For a second time he was absent from Arizona for several months. Petitions and letters unquestionably were sent to Washington complaining about Frémont's absences from the territory. Newspapers protested frequently but fruitlessly.

In the summer of 1880 he took a small part in the national campaign of James G. Garfield and Chester A. Arthur. The Pathfinder's words were not very inspiring, but his presence and reputation were counted as assets. Garfield responded with a greeting that was published in the Prescott newspaper, crediting Frémont for the candidate's enrollment in the Republican and abolitionist causes in 1856. Even though Rutherford B. Hayes would be leaving the White House the following March, the election of 1880 assured Frémont that he would continue to have a friend in the executive chair.

When Frémont returned to Arizona late in October of 1880, after an absence of seven months, a public reception was held for him in Tucson. He had missed the appearance of President Hayes at the railroad station in Tucson by a few days, but Frémont's popularity had grown, in part because of his railroad promotion. He also had sided with the Tucson bar in a dispute over the federal land register.

A few months later Frémont impatiently waited for the adjournment of the Arizona legislature so he could move the governor's office to Tucson. As soon as he made his daughter Elizabeth comfortable in a rented house in Tucson, Frémont hurried east. His plans for participation in a canal promotion to be financed by bonds sold in England had collapsed, but he still had hopes that the railroad franchise might be obtained.

For each of his extended eastern trips Frémont had a reason. The first one had been over the relocation of Indians and irrigation matters; the second was to oppose a new mining claim bill and promote mining interests. Now he had to buy one hundred stand of rifles to equip home guards for a campaign against Indians. The territorial press had scoffed at the idea.

Frémont was now sixty-eight and beyond his peak in health and wisdom. The Boston *Post* laughed at his plan to resettle Arizona's wild Indians in Lower California. First the land would have to be acquired from Mexico, which still smarted from the losses of the Mexican War and the Gadsden Purchase. Secondly, the Indians had to be caught—a task that was embarrassing the U. S. Army, which had many times a hundred trained men assigned to the difficult task.

Arizona citizens were asking: How does Frémont get away with all this? For the answer, we must turn back the clock. As already indicated, in 1849 Rutherford Hayes renamed a town in Ohio for his hero, whom he later supported in the 1856 campaign "hopefully, ardently, joyously." Furthermore, during the Civil War Hayes served in a company which Frémont compli-

mented for its fighting in the Valley Campaign in West Virginia. Hayes was a man of personal loyalty; he did not forget his old friend and commander, and was prepared to defend him whenever possible.

As we have seen also, Frémont's immediate superior was Carl Schurz, who had commanded a division in Frémont's second Civil War assignment in the summer of 1862. Schurz had admired Frémont since the 1856 campaign, when he made speeches in German in Wisconsin for the Republican candidate.

But there were even stronger associations that operated to Frémont's advantage. Before he ascended to the presidency, Hayes's law partner was Richard M. Corwine of Cincinnati. By the strangest of circumstances, Corwine had been an aide-de-camp on Frémont's staff in St. Louis. Moreover, he had been involved in the investigations of scandal that grew out of procurement of supplies for the Western Command.

A second aide-de-camp on Frémont's staff at that time had been John A. Gurley, congressman from Ohio and also a Cincinnati resident. Gurley was appointed by President Lincoln in 1863 to be the first governor of Arizona Territory, but died before he took office.

But of greatest importance in Frémont's defense during his years as governor was the President's private secretary—Charles King Rogers. He was a native of Ohio, trained for the ministry at Kenyon College, also Hayes's alma mater. He studied law also, and before the Civil War had been a law partner of both Hayes and Corwine. He and Hayes had been associated in Minnesota land promotion. Rogers moved to the White House with the President, and afterwards practiced law with Corwine's son.

Rogers enjoyed the full and intimate confidence of the Frémonts. How they met I cannot say, but the relationship was unique. While much important detail of the Frémont epic was lost when family papers were destroyed in a warehouse fire, Rogers retained many letters written to him by General Frémont and Jessie. These have been preserved in the Rutherford B. Hayes Library at Frémont, Ohio. They reflect the courtesy of Frémont, but also his immodesty. He sent Rogers an affidavit for endorsement: "Perhaps more ribbons and trimmings would be effective on this," he wrote, "if so, pray supply them." He invited Rogers to use "four or five thousand shares of Silver Prince stock" as security for a loan needed to finance the acquisition of the San Rafael del Valle Rancho. He had offered Rogers 10,000 shares of this stock as his interest in promotion of the Silver Prince enterprise. The coal-mining operation was to be divided into fourths—one for Senator Blaine, one for Rogers, one for Judge Silent, the remainder for Frémont. He confided to Rogers, "We are battling for fortune as those who have had it and lost it know how to do. . . ." He asked Rogers to send money to Arizona to clinch one of their deals. In short, the President's private secretary and the governor of Arizona were business partners. Whether or not Hayes was aware of this, certainly it had some effect upon disposition of complaints about Frémont that might have reached the White House.

Rogers was indispensable to Frémont's security during the Hayes administration, but the general landed on his feet when Garfield was elected to succeed Hayes. There is every indication in the Frémont correspondence of the period that the general could continue his private ventures without interference. Rogers continued as an associate, and Frémont was off on another one of his long trips to the East. Relations with the incoming regime appeared cordial. Jessie was even planning a return to Arizona, now that the general had established his office in Tucson, at much lower altitude than Prescott—also much closer to his new field of endeavors in Mexico.

Frémont was in the East. Acting Governor John J. Gosper quickly prepared a report for the Secretary of the Interior in lieu of the annual territorial governor's report. The extremely friendly Carl Schurz had been replaced by former governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa. Gosper hit hard. He blamed continued lawlessness of "cow-boys" around Tombstone indirectly on Frémont's absence; he said Arizona was tired of carpet-bag officials, a direct thrust at Frémont; he emphasized that the War Department should handle the Indian problem, thus subverting Frémont's plan for a home guard; and finally—the cruelest cut of all—he asked that the "regularly-appointed governor of this Territory be required to return to his post of duty, or be asked to step aside and permit some other gentleman to take his place. . . ."

On October 11, 1881—a date two years prior to that given by all of Frémont's biographers for the end of his term as governor of Arizona—he addressed a letter to President Chester A. Arthur, resigning from office. He ascribed his resignation to frustration over Indian hostilities, rationalizing, "the Governor of the Territory has

neither force nor money at his command, nor authority or voice in the settlement of Indian difficulties, [thus] my experience in Indian affairs could not be put to any practical use. Under the circumstances private interests alone remain to be considered. . . ."

In this last act of his tenure as Arizona's territorial governor, the great Pathfinder was unable to face reality.

The New York *Herald* said on October 25 that President Arthur had asked for the resignation because of continual complaints coming from Arizona, adding "he seemed to regard the climate and society of New York as more agreeable and attractive than that of the Territory of Arizona. General Frémont immediately responded to the President's invitation to resign."

His resignation mentioned his handicaps: lack of authority, shortage of funds, and little voice in forming policy. It did not touch upon the ignominy of Frémont's final frustration in this last public office he held.

A month before his forced resignation he and Jessie were bringing to bear their fading influence in an effort to strengthen their official as well as their intimate family.

Two years before (1879) the influence of Colonel Rogers and his statement to the adjutant general that the President "wishes it done" had won young Frank Frémont a direct commission as a second lieutenant in the U. S. Army. In 1872 the boy had been appointed to the Military Academy by President Grant. The next year cadets paraded at the second inauguration of Grant on a miserable day. They had come down from West Point without overcoats. Young Frémont developed tuberculosis which forced his resignation from the academy. Rest in California, the West Indies, and Arizona restored his health. By dependence upon old friends and political associates and two years of trying, the general and Jessie were able to obtain the commission for Frank. He now was serving with the 12th Infantry in Montana. In September of 1881, a few weeks before his own resignation, General Frémont asked the army to transfer his son to Tucson to take charge of organizing home guard companies. The appeal was carried over the heads of generals to the secretary of war, Robert Todd Lincoln. His refusal was couched in polite terms; it was not possible under the statutes and regulations; it would be a precedent to assign an active officer to a civil function. Behind such courtesy the request was short of absurd. Frémont wanted to organize home guards for a function in which he indicated the regulars had failed. He wanted a regular army officer—his son—to help him thus shame the army establishment.

On this unhappy note the Frémont administration ended.

In Arizona there was a sense of relief. The Phoenix *Herald* commented: "Happily our Territory lost nothing by Frémont's frequent absences . . . administration fell into hands as capable and energetic [as] those of Hon. John J. Gosper." This final word came from Mr. Gosper's own newspaper, of course, but nobody in Arizona seriously protested the end of Frémont's administration.

A few words in conclusion: Frémont's promotion of mining, and incidentally his own welfare, was consistent with activities of his predecessor and his successor. He reached farther than they because of his prominence. He was less successful, possibly because he was unskilled and unlucky in business.

This leaves us with a question that has been asked about Frémont by Allan Nevins: "Were his aberrations and follies attributable to his lamentable lack of judgement in appraising men and situations or were they to a large extent traceable to a lack of principle?" Mr. Nevins confesses he does not have the answer.

Neither have I.

In the preparation of this article, the author utilized two significant bodies of Frémont correspondence that had not been cited in previous writings.

The *Correspondence and Papers of Jessie Benton Frémont, 1879–1884* at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, includes letters written by Mrs. Frémont and her daughter, as well as a few by Governor Frémont, to Dr. William James Morton (1845–1920) of New York City. Dr. Morton had attended young Frémont during his bout with tuberculosis and was in attendance at General Frémont's death in a New York lodging house in 1890. Letters written by the Frémonts to Dr. Morton reveal confidences possible only between close friends.

A second body of rich correspondence regarding the Arizona phase of the Frémont epic is held by the Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Frémont, Ohio. Within the core collection of the library, among Hayes's own papers, are found letters from the Frémonts. The President's private secretary, Charles King Rogers (1828–1893) was in constant correspondence with the Frémonts and preserved not only their many letters but a number of documents bearing upon their business associations.

Mr. Harold Richardson, of Phoenix, Arizona, assisted the author with research into Arizona newspapers and archives. Dr. B. Sacks, historical consultant for the Arizona Historical Foundation, found the National Archives, as usual, yielding important official correspondence.

from Sagebrush to Jlay . . .

ALL PHOTOS BY PHILIP W. SULTZ

Sometimes I'd find the crisscross foundation half buried, unshaven, sinking

a picture story by Philip W. Sultz

The texture and cloth of frontier life by their very nature take root on the geographic rim of rough times. During the last century some various rough edges were burnished to insure an inevitable end to frontier living. While not entirely in the paths of conversion, scattered examples of early town and country construction have been pocketed in the highlands of the Rocky chain. With a comparatively short history of settlement lodged within the predominance of nature, the past rides easily to the foreground. Still, most of what is left standing is alone, and when architecture is occupied, we have shown the occupants in their daily affairs.

The hard days of an episode sought solutions bent on expediency. There was little thought given to artistic modification—patchwork and pretty things were left to the womenfolk. And yet in spite of this fact, or perhaps because of it, something of aesthetic significance shows above the soil. In an outpost adventure the importation of ideas and actions are often irrelevant. But with them, stock and wagon brought nails and door hinges, and young lives to show the way. Once again nature was the neighbor of man. He would learn to live with it. He would lay claim to one basic architectural merit. In the gathering of local material for the plan of a most frugal design, he would establish firm union with the source of his supply.

Some primary examples in the selection have already disappeared. As the title suggests, a number of homesteads grew from sage flats to settlements producing hay for winter feed. Today the bulldozer and abandonment are closing in on what remains to be seen. The sagebrush returns, and the end is in view.

and back again...

saddle and rider notching . . .

tennant corners . . .

an eagle-spread *gambrel style, horizontal logs squared off and neatly secured, well adapted to vertical boards*

A few years ago a fella drove in,
figuring no one was living here.
He starts picking up some old
wheels and things and loading 'em in his car.
I went out to give him a hand.
We got it loaded up, and he drove off.

lanterns

homemade cheese press . . .

wagon wheels

Reed Moulton's barn, Jackson Hole, Wy

Papers given at Western History Association conference
Salt Lake City, October 18, 1963

HISTORIANS OF THE WEST

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB

Turner, Bolton, and Webb, three great interpreters of the American West, number their product by the thousands in the form of their students and students' students unto the third generation. The total product of their pens reaches into the scores of books and articles. All three might object to being labeled "Western" specialists exclusively, yet Frederick Jackson Turner created an entire school of history with his initial essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History"; Herbert Eugene Bolton will always be known for his studies on the "Spanish Borderlands" (the Spanish Southwest), certainly a significant part of Western America; and whatever his wide-ranging interests, Walter Prescott Webb will long be remembered for his classic study of the "Great Plains" and his more recent essay dealing with the West as a desert culture.

These three teacher-historians were all born in the nineteenth century, but their active careers extended well into the twentieth. Turner died in the 1930's, Bolton in the early '50's, and Webb only recently, in the spring of 1963. Each spent most of his adult life in the academic world, yet collectively their influence reaches into all the facets of the world-wide interest, understanding, and image of the American West.

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER

"The Significance of the Frontier in American History"

BY WILBUR R. JACOBS

The Frederick Jackson Turner papers reveal the problems a great historian had in actually getting his ideas down on paper. Some writers, exemplified by Parkman and Prescott, were fortunate in the possession of literary talents of a high order; indeed they achieved their renown in large part through their gift of language and evocation. But Turner, though he is capable of admirable lucidity in his essays, and though many of his letters are sprightly and pleasantly conversational in tone, found writing for publication painfully difficult.

Turner's collected papers, his correspondence, research notes, and unpublished essays, reveal that his approach to history was distinctly modern in that it was nonliterary and sought to borrow from the scientific method what history could use. Turner was preoccupied with the massing of evidence, the sifting of data to reach objective conclusions, and the consideration of theoretical formulations and hypotheses. He was above all interested in the interplay of many varied forces—social, political, cultural, economic, geographical—and absorbed in the task of documenting the evolutionary aspects of this interplay, rather than in depicting the character of a man, the mood of a dramatic historical scene, or the appearance of a place.

Turner's professional writings show the influence of this appreciation of the scientific method. His essays are clear, unadorned historical interpretations, the product of a logical and questioning mind. The stress on ideas, the highly intellectual quality of Turner's writings, might perplex some readers of his works on the Frontier and the West, for these subjects seem to lend themselves to a dramatic and romantic theme. But Turner's approach was not romantic, and he wrote of western development not as a romantic saga of American history but as a complex "process" which needed to be understood in all its details.

Turner was more interested in the veracity of thought than in any "artistic" verities or literary "unities." A theme that appears in a number of Turner's letters is that he wished "to be understood" and that he had "no desire," he said, "to prove . . . consistency." In a long autobiographical letter to Merle Curti in 1928 Turner wrote:

> as you know, the "West," with which I dealt, was a *process* rather than a fixed geographical region: it began with the Atlantic Coast; and it emphasized the way in which the East colonized the West, and how the "West," as it stood at any given period affected the development and ideas of the older areas to the East. In short, the "frontier" was taken as the "thin red line" that recorded the dynamic element in American history up to recent times.

Turner's "West," then was by his own explanation, not the golden one, but as near as he was capable of making it, the real and changing West.

A historical "process," involving, as it does, continuous changes in time and a constantly shifting kaleidoscope of interrelated forces, is a matter much too vast and mobile to be easily grasped. It is incomparably

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

more difficult to describe and analyze on paper than a static picture, or even a series of static pictures. The process with which Turner dealt, and which he struggled to get down on paper so it could be understood by others, comprised at least four separate but related movements. These included, as he wrote in an unpublished essay, "[1] the spread of settlement steadily westward, and [2] all the economic, social, and political changes involved in the existence of a belt of free land at the edge of settlement; [3] the continual settling of successive belts of land; [4] the evolution of these successive areas of settlement through various stages of backwoods life, ranching, pioneer farming, scientific farming, and manufacturing life."

The history of the process of westward expansion must, according to Turner, include not only an account of the western occupation of the land and the accompanying evolution of society from pioneer life to an urban manufacturing society but, as he said, "all the economic, social and political changes" at the edge of settlement as these various "Wests" went through a "process" of social evolution. The most gifted and facile writer would have found it an arduous task to write history of such density and complexity!

Had Turner's work been less original, his obstacles would have been less formidable. But his was an independent and creative effort, and he lacked accumulations of background material and published documents which those who followed him have used with profit. Turner's lifetime accumulation of research notes, housed in dozens of bulging file drawers, was not simply an eccentric luxury or the results of a neurotic habit of "a glutton for data." These files were the tools necessary to build the new history. Although Turner declined the responsibility for the so-called "new history," there is reason to believe that his contribution to it was as great as any historian of his generation.

Convinced that most American historians had given distorted accounts of the times they professed to treat, Turner believed he had no real alternative other than take on the almost overwhelming job of reinterpreting his country's history. He complained that few American historians had written about the West except as "annexation-of-territory history." When he began his researches, Turner perceived that America "beyond the Alleghenies, was almost virgin soil, and that the *frontier process* began with the coast; and that the South also—

indeed all the *sections*—needed re-study objectively." The only earlier historian who successfully related "economic and social data to American history" was, in Turner's judgment, Henry Adams who, Turner said, "does much in the first volume of his history with that sort of thing, though he doesn't do it in my way. The tendency was to deal with such topics in one or two separate chapters and then turn, without knitting the two together, to political and diplomatic history. I have tried to keep the relations steadily in mind," Turner wrote, "but it isn't an easy job, and the effort [Here Turner shows himself conscious of his low literary productivity.] is sometimes conducive to unwritten books!"

Turner was, of course, aware that in his attempts to counteract the static histories of the past he was in danger of being misunderstood. "Undue emphasis," he thought, had been placed upon his interest in western history. Critics often failed to grasp, he wrote in a letter of 1925 to Arthur M. Schlesinger, that his theory of the frontier and the "process" of westward expansion was an attempt to show how "the interior" was "a necessary element in an understanding of the America of the time." This "interior" Turner saw as "a modifying element," a "mixing bowl," and as "a parent region for much of the mountain states and the [Pacific] Coast." Turner thought of the new "Wests," in various stages of social and economic evolution, as colonies of the East, and collectively he sometimes referred to them as America's "interior." The actual frontier, however, had to be distinguished from the westward movement as a "process." "Of course [the] Frontier and [the] West are not identical," Turner wrote in one of his letters to Schlesinger, "but I used [the] Frontier as (so to speak) the barometric line that recorded the advance of settlement, the creation of new Wests, not merely as the area of Indian fighting, vigilantes, annexations, etc." Similarly, in writing to Carl Becker he pointed out that his self-assumed task of treating precisely those areas most neglected by historians could be easily misinterpreted:

> Although my work has laid stress upon two aspects of American history—the frontier and the sections (in the sense of geographical regions, or provinces . . .),—I do not think of myself as primarily either a western historian, or a human geographer. I have stressed these two factors, because it seemed to me that they had been neglected, but fundamentally I have been interested in the inter-relations of economics, politics, sociology, culture in general, with the geographic factors, in explaining the United States of to-day by means of its history thus broadly taken. Perhaps this is one of the many reasons why I have not been more voluminous!

Turner's view of "broadly taken" history was certainly not easy to grasp or to put down on paper. With some justification Turner objected to his conception of the frontier being used "as a man of straw to be pummeled." It is not surprising that he roused himself from a sickbed in December, 1931, shortly before his death, to dictate a long letter to a critic who inferred that he was guilty of "spreading an error" on frontier history.

Turner disliked oversimplification involved in being labeled, or "tagged," one thing or another. His concept of history was so broad that he even objected to being classified as "a Western historian." When a distinguished scholar told him that he behaved like a sociologist, not a historian, Turner answered, "I didn't care what I was *called*, so long as I was left to try to ascertain the truth, and the relation of facts to cause and effect in my own way." Turner would naturally enough object to the idea, voiced by both Charles A. Beard and Arthur M. Schlesinger, that he stressed an economic interpretation of history. Writing to Schlesinger in 1922 Turner said that he did not know if his frontier studies represented "fundamentally an economic interpretation." "There is in this country," he continued, "such an interrelation of ideals, economic interest, frontier advance (or recession, if you prefer), and regional geography, that it isn't easy to separate them." While Turner believed that his essays on the West showed an "appreciation of the economic changes," they were, he wrote, "more related to the influence of free lands and the frontier in the large sense." "The truth is," he added, "that I found it necessary to hammer pretty hard and pretty steadily on the frontier idea to 'get it in,' as a corrective to the kind of thinking I found some thirty years ago and less." He hoped, he wrote Schlesinger in this letter of 1922, to spend his later years adding a "companion piece (the *Section*) to the Frontier." If he lived, Turner said in this interesting letter, he would "attempt a coordination of these old and new viewpoints in a general sketch of our history, emphasizing the dynamics rather than the statics: the genetic element, and the *flow* of it all."

The task that Turner chose for himself, then, was to

have his new viewpoints recognized and to combine them in a dynamic history which was based upon study of interrelationships and what he called "the genetic element." He was well aware that the "frontier process" which he sought to describe was a phase of American history which was related to other historical processes "essential" to understanding our past. These other processes, such as "the evolution of sectionalism," "the evolution of political institutions," "the evolution of a composite, non-English nationality," "industrial transformations," and "the slavery struggle and the Negro suffrage problem," show Turner's appreciation of aspects of Darwinian theory. Beyond this, not only did Turner see that the frontier process might have applications in countries other than his own, in Russia and in South America for example, but he recognized that the history of all the world might be considered in terms of the "processes" of history. Turner wrote Carl Becker:

> The "frontier" process is one which applies to certain portions of Old World history, as well as to that of the New, and sometime it will be worked out thus. And beyond all this is the conception of history as a complex of all the social sciences. The conception of the One-ness of the thing. As you intimate, this is rather paralyzing to begin with (and I can't claim authorship of it)! But it does help to know that these subjects are tied together and to deal with a phase of the whole, realizing it is only a phase.

It is small wonder, considering the vastness of Turner's chosen task (involving a conception of history that even Carl Becker found "rather paralyzing"), that Turner was sometimes depressed at his failure to produce more in the form of polished printed results. "In truth," Turner wrote, "there is no single key to American history. In history, as in science, we are learning that a complex result is the outcome of the interplay of many forces. Simple explanations fail to meet the case."

The task of writing the new history, taking the broad Turnerean view in interpreting our past, was surely an undertaking of the first magnitude. Turner himself acknowledged that "the man who does general history on these lines must indeed be a genius; but," he added, "with some equipment in the other social fields and some knowledge of the scientific method and tools he should be able to consult the special works intelligently so as to proceed not too narrowly in the orientation of his subject and the development of it."

Turner in giving special attention to one important phase of "general" American history was fascinated by the great mass of human action on the frontier and in the West. He saw American society clothed in its spiritual and material Old World inheritance, a captive of customs, suddenly thrust into an infinitely complex environmental and social setting on the raw frontier. It was here that the "bonds of custom" were broken by the frontier process of social change.

With the greatest earnestness, Turner sought to understand the relationship between the confused memory of the past and the intricate reality of the present. Despite the magnitude of the problem he felt an obligation to leave the results of his investigations in printed form. "We must build foundations," he wrote, "and furnish *real* bricks for those who come after us, and profit by our mistakes and half-sight—and there is a real danger of merely thinking 'by and large.' "

By the time of his retirement from Harvard, when his tenure as a research associate began at the Huntington Library in the Far West, Turner had formed conclusions concerning the results of his theorizing. Writing to Merle Curti he said:

> My work, whether good or bad, can only be correctly judged by noting what American historians and teachers of history (see College & Univ. catalogues of the later eighties) were doing when I began. . . . The attitude toward Western history was at the time largely antiquarian or of the romantic narrative type devoid of the conception of the "West" as a moving process—modifying the East, and involving economic, political and social factors.

In speaking of his methodology Turner added,

> Mine, if I have any, has been largely unconscious . . . the search beyond the skyline for new truth, and the use of such methods of getting there as immediate needs & resources permitted.

While occupied in a lifelong search for this "new truth," Turner seems to have acquired a feeling of guilt at his failure to leave more for later historians. But we, looking back on his life, can see that his publications were held in check by precisely those qualities which made him a historian of such enduring value—his awareness of the enormous scope and complexity of history which precluded rash and casual judgments, and his strong sense of responsibility to his profession which caused him to busy himself so magnificently

continued on page 78

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON

"He could not write worth a damn, but he wrote and wrote."

BY JOHN W. CAUGHEY

When I first met Herbert Eugene Bolton he was in his prime. In any activity or profession, "prime" means the time when energy and experience are in the equilibrium that yields peak efficiency and output. From historian to historian the time may vary. For most of us it probably comes sooner, but for Bolton I am prepared to date it in the years when he was fifty-five, fifty-six, and fifty-seven. Here is part of the evidence.

He then held the office of director of the Bancroft Library. He was chairman of the history department. His teaching stint called for lecturing twice a week to a thousand undergraduates studying the history of the Americas. Three times a week he lectured to a couple of hundred upperclassmen and graduates on the history of the West. Thursday nights a score of graduate students gathered at his round table, almost every one of them working under his direction toward the M.A. or Ph.D.

To the seminar in my three years he brought many evidences of his dedication to research—new books or articles by some of "his boys"; finished copies of *Arredondo's Historical Proofs*, and *The Debatable Land*, page proofs of *Palou's New California*, galleys of *Crespi, Missionary Explorer*, and parts of the manuscript of *Anza*.

Because he haunted his study and operated on the open door policy, access to him was easy—provided one was willing to climb the stairs to the fourth floor of the Library. In my second year as teaching assistant I gained a further entree. I was chosen as his map man, which meant I had a standing appointment to drop in an hour before his lecture to find what two or three oversize maps he wanted hung and in what arrangement. I always found him jotting notes for the lecture, but my coming was usually the signal for a conversation break, a Bolton institution.

Aside from class and seminar, his study was the only place where I ever saw him. Still, he was a very open person. He put himself into everything that he did. To illustrate a technique in research or a problem of assessing evidence, he liked best of all to relate some experience or achievement of his own. I thought I knew him well but I must admit that my understanding was clarified and corrected as late as 1962 when a reminiscent account by his elder brother Frederick appeared in *Arizona and the West*. Bolton used to say that he had no need to play golf because he had had plenty of exercise when he was young. I took that as a joke, as of course it was, but Frederick spells out how much toil and labor Herbert had to put in as a youth and a young man.

Besides being a straightforward and uncomplicated person, Bolton had found the line of work that he wanted to pursue—the particular kind of history and the particular kind of teaching and research—and he was applying himself full-tilt. For this assignment he had tremendous enthusiasm, which spread out to embrace

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

others, especially his students, who were engaged with him in this great adventure. Observers from the sidelines occasionally said that he was too self-centered. All recognized his diligence in going to the sources, his alertness in uncovering new documents, and his unflagging devotion to his chosen task. It was not just the long hours he worked, past midnight night after night; it was also that he let nothing divert him.

His methods were simple yet demanding. He was one of the pioneers in the discovery and the opening of foreign archives materials on American history. "I am an American historian," he said in the first sentence of one speech, "and therefore I do my research in foreign archives." He meant Mexico, Spain, the Vatican, the Jesuit Archives, France, the Netherlands, and so on.

He took to the trails. He was not content merely to pore over the manuscripts and old maps. He preferred to revisit the scene, to confirm or correct the locations, and let the geography contribute directly to his understanding of the history he was studying. Usually thereafter he had to reconstruct the maps as well as the narrative. In respects other than geographical he tried to put himself in the position of the people he was studying, whether they were Spaniards, Frenchmen, Englishmen, or Indians. I cannot picture him beating a drum for integration, yet a cardinal belief of his was that people of all races and nationalities are very much alike. He delighted in exploding the stereotypes in which the Spaniards had been cast. He sought help from ethnologists as well as geographers and from other specialists where appropriate. From his own researches he was able to contribute significant data for ethnological study.

How he met the obligations as director of the Bancroft Library and chairman of the history department was not visible to me as a graduate student. He cannot have allowed either to consume much of his time.

His performance as a teacher I have never seen paralleled. He was a teaching machine, a one-man assembly line, a tax-payers' dream of efficiency in the degree factory. Each semester he brought twelve hundred or more undergraduates one course nearer to graduation. It was a poor commencement when his masters did not number ten or a dozen and his doctors four or five.

The paradox was that he did not seem to be a good lecturer. He was neither dramatic nor spectacular. He did not try to entertain, nor was he truly eloquent. In-

stead, he offered a down-to-earth exposition, a straightforward narrative, together with his observations on the meaning. Clearly he was talking out of solid knowledge. More important, he showed his keenness for the grand development that was his subject and his zest for the study. He achieved a contagion of interest in the pursuit and recapture of a fleeting past.

In his graduate seminar he was even more successful in communicating his consuming interest in the study of history. He never thought of his seminar as a place of instruction in the mechanics of historical research. He frankly said that he left that sort of teaching to his colleagues. They, by their own choice or otherwise, carried on a quite different pedagogy. Louis Paetow offered a seminar in research method. Eugene I. McCormac ran a colloquium with oral reports on assigned fractions of a common topic. Charles E. Chapman made his seminar a bull ring of criticism, the sharper the better.

Bolton used his seminar as a forum where his thesis and dissertation writers read chapters, or what they hoped were chapters, in the offering that would be partial fulfillment of a degree requirement. In any semester the subject matter might spread over several centuries and over the whole Boltonian range from Alaska to the West Indies and from the Great Basin to Patagonia. As Bolton students we were supposed to be more or less prepared to understand. In fact, a virtue of Bolton's wide ranging seminar was that his Latin American specialists received broad exposure to the history of the West, and his Western Americanists got a grounding in the history of Latin America. The quality, of course, varied. Some of the offerings were inadequately researched, or poorly organized, or badly written. Bolton nevertheless almost always steered the comment to some element in the performance that was eligible for praise, even if it were only the map or other exhibit material accompanying the report.

Opinion differed on how Bolton came to have this penchant for praise. By mid-career it was a fixed characteristic. He interpreted his role as mentor to first of all give encouragement. It bespoke more confidence in human performance and less pleasure in faultfinding than most of us have. Bolton carried this same attitude over to book reviewing, usually declining to write a review, and enjoying it only when he could give undiluted applause. In choice of topics for his own research he also favored what he could extol. He preferred success stories, heroes rather than villains.

His seminar method aided his volume output of M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s. The bulk of his advising and supervising was accomplished right in the seminar; some of it, as should be, by the other students present. He used also one factory device. He liked to find sets of subjects for investigation. One such category was federal relations, on which he had a whole battery of students at work; another was Spanish Louisiana; still another, missions and missionaries. I fell into two of these programs, with a thesis on early federal relations with New Mexico and a dissertation in the Spanish Louisiana dispensation.

None of these group attacks has the fame that attaches to Dunning's Reconstruction seminar. There the timespan was limited, the states only fifteen in number, and the definition primarily political. Federal relations by contrast is an open-end investment. Bolton never had enough hands to encompass it all, nor am I sure that he was interested to pursue it beyond the early phases. For his seminar the device of related topics was a clear help; it strengthened the seminar as a proving ground, and fitted in with Bolton's method of encouragement unlimited.

Bolton never claimed to be a great philosopher or a deep thinker. He did boast that he had hit upon two or three majestic ideas. One was that history is best observed and best understood by reaching beyond the confines of a single nation. In his day colonial American history was almost always studied by projecting into the past the boundaries within which the United States started and studying merely that fraction of English colony planting.

Bolton's move to Texas may have broadened his horizons; his summers in the Mexican archives certainly did so. In 1920 *The Colonization of North America*, in joint authorship with T. M. Marshall, encompassed the multinational multi-imperial efforts affecting the entire continent to 1800. Perhaps better suited for reference use than for reading, this sturdy compendium tabulates a vast array of actions in the European expansion into this continent.

That same year Bolton offered a new course on the history of the Americas, North and South. For it he added a second continent and undertook to cover from Columbus to the present. In point of fact this second

part of the contract was not altogether fulfilled. Bolton was a colonialist at heart. He did not turn to the American Revolution and the Wars of Independence until the second semester, and in the national history he was most interested in the colonial-like parts, such as the westward expansion of the United States. He and his class usually found that the second semester disappeared about 1890.

Partly on this account, his United States history colleagues at Berkeley were never content with History 8 as the one lower division offering in American history. That is another story which, however, illustrates a barrier that has stood in the way of the spread of the hemisphere course. There have been other handicaps—not enough Bolton-trained and indoctrinated men to staff it in all our colleges; disinclination in some quarters to appoint such nonconformists; the lack, for many years, of a suitable textbook for the course; and prolonged argument in the profession on the irrelevant issue of hemispheric unity, or, as sometimes phrased, Do the Americas have a common history? Bolton, it is true, maintained that there was unity of the sort that rises above the many languages, many nations, many cultures of Europe and justifies an over-all view of the history of that subcontinent. This concept of the hemispheric view is the one Bolton selected for development in his presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1932, "The Epic of Greater America."

The other concept for which Bolton is best known is that of the Spanish borderlands. He could have included the Banda Oriental (Uruguay), the Guaraní Missions, Paraguay, Tucumán, and southern Chile. His primary reference was to the northern marches of Spanish America, from Florida and Guale (Georgia) cross-country to the Californias. His volume in the "Chronicles of America" series staked out this field in 1921. The bulk of his more specialized scholarship deals with selected subjects under this rubric. His name for the field has entered our jargon and is picked up in the Harvard *Guide to American History*.

Bolton's students are myriad—the thousands upon thousands who crowded Wheeler Auditorium, the close to three hundred masters and one hundred doctors, the last most significant to us though not necessarily to Bolton. The roster includes Charles E. Chapman, J. Fred Rippy, Arthur Aiton, Charles W. Hackett, J. Lloyd Meacham, George P. Hammond, Lawrence Hill, John Tate Lanning, Irving Leonard, William Shiels, Peter M. Dunne, Woodrow Borah, John Bannon, and several times that many more Latin Americanists. It includes Cardinal Goodwin, William C. Bingley, LeRoy Hafen, Leland Creer, A. P. Nasatir, the Ellisons and the "Coys," Lawrence Kinnaird, R. Kay Wyllys, Wallace Smith, Adele Ogden, Milton Hunter, John Hussey, Philip C. Brooks, John Kemble, Gregory Crampton, and many others more especially concerned with the American West. These students were so numerous as to call for two separate *Festschriften*, *New Spain and the American West* in two volumes in 1932, and *Greater America* in 1944. In the latter volume the corpus of the writings of these students took 123 pages to tabulate. It has grown considerably since that date.

A close associate of mine, on hearing that I was to perform on this program, volunteered that one compliment should certainly be paid Dr. Bolton. "He could not write worth a damn, but he went right ahead and wrote and wrote." He was not the most graceful stylist, but write he certainly did. His voluminous writings are, as we historians take for granted, his chief claim to fame.

He published aids to scholarship—his syllabus on *The History of the Americas*, first as a paperback and then in boards in 1928; his series of maps; and the *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (1913). This *Guide* is still the best finding tool in its field. At the Bancroft Library, ask for The Bible, and this is what they will bring out.

Bolton devoted many of his busy years to translating and editing original documents. It began with contributions to the Blair and Robertson set on the Philippine Islands and advanced to the volumes or sets of volumes on De Mezieres, Kino, Arredondo, Palou, Crespi, Anza, and Escalante. Critics have said that, having demonstrated his capacity at this allegedly menial work, a great historian should have moved on to more creative scholarship. Yet Bolton had special flair as a translator. He entered into each piece of writing as though it were his own. In the introductions and notes to these volumes he found opportunity to be creative. Is there any one of these translations that we wish he had not done?

His monographs and biographies are another stout shelf. *Rim of Christendom* (1936), his biography of Kino, deserves consideration as his most impressive

continued on page 79

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB

"He never let the facts stand in the way of the truth."

BY JOE B. FRANTZ

In the periodic western trinity of Herbert Eugene Bolton, Frederick Jackson Turner, and Walter Prescott Webb, it is mildly curious that only one of these justifiably famous historians was what we envious tradesmen designate as a producer. With almost Presbyterian devotion Turner researched for signs from heaven above and earth below confirming or disavowing the sanctity of his presumption, but Bolton billy goated down *barrancas* and marched across *malpais*, always with enough energy left over to go home and write, as Buck Schiwetz would say, with a venom.

In this area Webb stands somewhere in between. He clambered across the countryside, returning home not so much to research as to put his feet on his desk, look out the window, and dream, and just now and then write like a man possessed. But no steady stream of books and articles emanated from his Texas typewriter, because he liked to look and think and talk and know what he was going to say before he committed himself to paper. And when he did write, he never thought of himself as a western historian, but as a universally minded writer whose universe just happened to come home to the American West with some frequency.

Like any good teacher or writer, he enjoyed explaining to someone who might know less about a subject than he. And no matter what he wrote about, he always wrote primarily for one person—not the specter of a critical book reviewer, as you and I do, but an imaginary Bostonian who was not a professional historian, writer, or critic, but a man of wide culture who could feel at home at Locke-Ober's, Fenway Park, or even the Old Howard, and who could be interested in a slice of non-Bostonian history. To an inestimable degree much of the clarity which came to characterize Webb's prose resulted from his asking himself, as he read back over his copy, whether he had made his Bostonian understand what he was trying to say. As for historians, Webb largely felt that they read little except what was practical in pursuit of their research problems, and he refused to write for them, either in general or in the particular.

Webb represents that class of historian-writers who, to the horror of dedicated graduate students, gained fame doing something other than they had intended. (Maybe it's something in the formidable Texas climate, for Bolton also became an academic turncoat while in Texas.) Originally Webb wanted to be a writer, to use words to escape the arid environment both intellectually and climatically in which he was reared. Deliberately he set out to be what he was not; adjectives like urbane, cosmopolitan, and worldly-wise attracted him, and he tried writing fiction that bordered on the drawing room genre. But the first articles he sold, and subsequently the first and only fiction, had western themes, for he quickly learned that he could write best as a thinking reporter, a man who examines and portrays perceptively things he knows something about. Distrust-

CHARLES SMITH

ing his imagination, he became a historian-teacher, banking on the unexciting surety of a school payroll to keep him solvent and leaning on the everlasting arms of historical fact to keep him "safe and secure from all alarms."

But Webb could no more avoid being a writer than the old-time Fundamentalist preacher could fight the call. As his confidence and practice grew, he beame less the traditional historian and more the writer-artist. As he developed as an artist, he broadened his perceptions even as he perfected his technique, and in the latter years he ranged well beyond the West, drawing his prose pictures from a variety of sources, both historical and topical. He also became what he could not achieve in the 1920's—urbane, cosmopolitan, and worldly wise, with just enough of the earth showing through to season his speech and titillate his readers.

Always, though, he wanted to be the artist, and nothing is more revealing than when at the close of the Great Depression, Fred Shannon attacked his *Great Plains*, contending, among other things, that it was not good history. Webb replied—the only time he ever replied to a critic—that he didn't think of the book as history, but as art. And any intelligent person knows that art is not confined to the narrow precepts and practices of history.

On the other hand, Webb did not downgrade history as a discipline or a profession. Once when I remarked casually that since history was a branch of literature, I therefore wished that historians would pay more attention to the craft of literature, he stopped me short:

"Oh no," he said, "You're backwards. Literature is a branch of history, as is all knowledge."

Webb loved such sweeping generalities, never pausing to qualify. He was guilty of oversimplification, but again simplification as he practiced it was a part of the art of communicating in a world of historians, not to mention other breeds, who could not speak more complexly if they set out to confuse. He told the students at the University of Mississippi that they could handle the racial question by simply getting rich and letting the Negro get rich alongside them—and he was almost run out of the state for his solution. He told a class at Texas: "I have never known Nature to make an unpleasant sound." (And we could stay here all afternoon and take exception to that.)

Periodically Webb would complain, like any good

son, that his father, who must have had a mind much like his but a disposition considerably more contentious, never appreciated his success. "My father only respected doctors and lawyers," he would say.

Actually Webb's father had more grounds for appreciation than he realized, because aside from the artistry involved, Webb approached a historical problem much like a lawyer, an advocate, preparing a brief. He already had his judge or jury foreman in mind—that would be our mythical Bostonian. Knowing the verdict he wanted, he set out to marshal the evidence. In the strict seminar sense he was a poor researcher, and he had a politician's gift for ignoring contrary evidence.

Or as Frank Dobie said of him, "Webb never lets the facts stand in the way of the truth."

Like a good lawyer he won more cases—historical cases—than he lost. His book on *The Texas Rangers* is definitive on that frontier enforcement agency, though he came rightly to regard the book as a competent journeyman's job. He later wrote a "young adolescent's" version which he regarded more highly. "I left out all those deadening facts," he said.

But *The Texas Rangers*, though it has stood up for nearly thirty years, was not an idea book, and therefore never a real favorite with him. He liked the three for which he is better known—*The Great Plains*, something of a classic; *Divided We Stand*, quickly withdrawn by his publisher because it offended certain corporate directors; and *The Great Frontier*, generally blasted by critics and then forgotten. However, when Webb died on March 8, 1963, he believed that *The Great Frontier* was his most enduring book. Again, to protract the analogy, like any garret-starving painter, Webb was content that the thinking public along about 1990 would acclaim his hypothesis of a 400-year boom having been touched off by Columbian discoveries, making possible private capitalism, modern democracy, and those other heralded institutions of the United States. With the boom dead, he said, the world was experiencing the upheaval of vast change without knowing to what it was adjusting, but it could only look wistfully to the past and know it would not pass those windfall ways again.

The Great Frontier was not appreciated now, he felt, because it left people gloomy and offered them no alternatives, happy or otherwise.

Actually Webb wrote or edited a great deal more than these four books: little books—half history, half propaganda, like *More Water For Texas;* collector's items, like *Flat Top, A Story of Modern Ranching;* several textbooks at the elementary and high school levels; the indispensable tool of all writers on the Texas scene, the mammoth two-volume *Handbook of Texas;* or the happy editing of the recent best-seller, *Washington Wife*. About the beginning of 1962 he officially resigned as the prospective author of a volume on the American West for the "New American Nation" series; instead, he was hard at work on a new mission—trying to convince the South that the next century belonged to it as the great underexploited section of the nation if it would not get inextricably snarled in its racial tangle. "I want the son of a bitch to know what it feels like to be rich," he told one southern audience to whom he carried his latest gospel.

On the other hand, Webb and I had accepted advances to turn out one of these overpriced picture books on the West—he to do the text while I gathered the art work. To prepare himself in a frontier area in which he felt unknowing, he had taught the summer of 1962 at the University of Alaska, suffering the pangs of a two-months' separation from his bride of six months and acknowledging with his frequent sour grin, "I prefer the frontier in theory over the frontier in fact."

Webb loved to fool with piecework, perhaps to the detriment of more solid accomplishments but all adding to his understanding. Thus he wrote drafts of speeches for national and local politicians; he served a tour as an idea man for then Senator Lyndon Johnson; he was always available for a guest column for a newspaper. He wrote introductions by the barrelful—to a book of Texas art, about which he knew little; to a history of Masonry, of which he knew less. Typical of his method—or lack of method—is the article he wrote for *Harper's* on the West as a desert culture, an article that drew nationwide retorts. He had read something or other by Lucius Beebe which he thought as spurious as "all get-out," and wrote a review of the book for the Dallas *News*. But with a desk that invariably resembled a surrealist's nightmare, he lost the review before he could get it in the mail. Annoyed at having to rewrite, he checked up on his facts, one led to another, and the first thing he knew he had a full-length article, too long for a book page. Since he always preferred articulate popular magazines to the professional journals—he actually

published little except presidential addresses in the reviews—he sent the article to *Harper's*, which made sure that every vocal chamber of commerce and sensitive governor in the West saw a copy.

How much do you say about Webb? Of this only can we be certain right now: His *The Great Plains* influenced men's thinking; the presidential addresses to the Mssissippi Valley and American Historical Associations apparently get wide attention in seminars devoted to bibliography; he wrote several articles that likewise have influenced. Beyond that, one can only conjecture. Will his small book on William E. Hinds, shortly to be published after arousing considerable attention in *Harper's* and *Reader's Digest* turn out to be an inspirational book for the ages? Will *The Great Frontier* some day be hailed as a book of rare prophecy or did Webb ignore too many fundamentals of world history, sociology, anthropology, economics, and political science, to name only several of the classes of practitioners who blasted it? Only our academic children can answer these questions, when we will be beyond tuning in for the answers.

Certainly we know too that the facts of Webb's belated arrival on the academic scene have given pause to many a graduate history faculty, not alone at Chicago and Texas. I do not know how many times Webb has grunted to us younger members of the Texas department who were being critical of a prospective new employee because at nineteen he still lacked a year on his Ph.D., had only five articles to his credit, and no books: "You guys," he was wont to say, "never *would* have hired me. If you *had* hired me, you wouldn't have kept me. And if you *had* kept me, you wouldn't have promoted me. I came along at the latest possible moment to have made good in this profession. But since the University didn't push me, I have tried in my way to show my appreciation of its patience."

Perhaps the largest significance of Webb's career may ultimately lie in the fact that in a profession dedicated to demonstrable activity, Webb's career acts as a flashing sign that we must still make room along the road for the slower man who takes time to view the scenery and think on what he sees. Certainly he saw, and certainly he thought. And just as certainly Walter Prescott Webb causes men to reassess; whether he was right or wrong hardly seems important—what matters is that he forced men to look anew at a part of the story of how we came to be where we are, and what we are, today.

Forthcoming Articles

The spring issue of THE AMERICAN WEST will contain a wide variety of interesting and informative articles by an equal variety of excellent authors

Joseph Wechsberg, *Winnetou of Der Wild West,* is the story of Karl May, the "James Fenimore Cooper" of Germany. One of the best selling authors of all time, May wrote scores of books, which sold millions of copies, about a land he never saw until after his writing days were done. He created an image of the Wild West which is still popular in central Europe today.

Samuel W. Taylor, *Walter Murray Gibson: Great Mormon Rascal.* Characterized as an "ex-pirate who became a Mormon and stole the island of Lanai," Gibson became prime minister of the Hawaiian Islands under the last native king, twice escaped hanging, and had the distinction of being one of the few men who hoodwinked completely that shrewd judge of human character, Brigham Young

Walter Rundell, Jr., *Steinbeck's Image of the West.* The Western novels of Nobel prize winner John Steinbeck are particularly significant as records of social history.

J. S. Holliday, *The Lonely Sheepherder,* is a picture story of lonely heart carvings on quaking aspen trees.

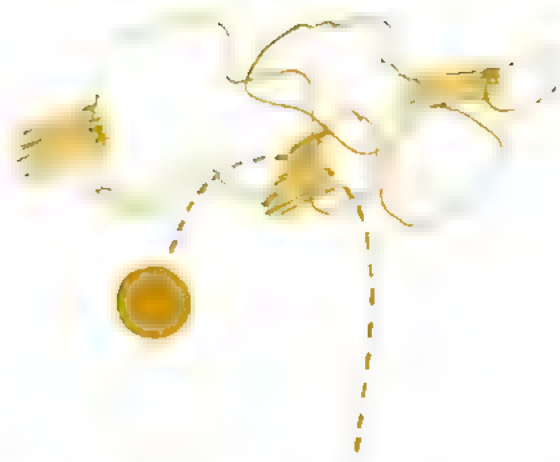
John G. Cawelti, *Cowboys, Indians, Outlaws.* The Western, as we know it today in novels, movies, and television, is essentially the elaboration of the image of the West created by the Wild West show of Buffalo Bill and the dime novels of the later nineteenth century.

Other writers in future issues include: Dale L. Morgan, Donald E. Worcester, Kent L. Steckmesser, Martin Ridge, Ronald L. Ives, Wallace Stegner, Noel Loomis, Benjamin Sacks, Paul Bailey, C. Gregory Crampton, and many others.

Western Folklore & History

BY WALKER D. WYMAN

It was a land without baths and clean underwear, where every bed was crawling with "livestock"...



It is with great reluctance that one dares to speak to a group of western scholars on folklore because of the known attitude of the historical profession toward the subject. The profession generally regards the study of folklore as a pursuit of the bizarre and the queer among the unsophisticated. If folk songs are those currently sung by the guitar brigade who were never closer to a water hole than a bar on Fifth Avenue, the professional historian has reason to shy away from such materials when lecturing and writing about the West.

But it is good medicine for a person to go from the land of the Norwegians to the land of the Mormons. Both have been deeply influenced by their own folklore. Utah is a land where legends of Brigham Young's statement "This is the Place" and the idea that the gulls saved the infant settlement are accepted with the force of history. Wisconsin too is a land where these stories are told as if they happened: When a driver of an automobile ran down a Norwegian settler, he called the police station to report that he was sorry he had run over a Norwegian and that he feared the man was dead. The police replied: "Well, don't tell me about it. You'll have to go to the county seat to collect the bounty."

It is up to the historian to collect folklore, separate it from "fakelore" in the seminars, and use it to chink the cracks of history, for every age is influenced by the unscientific and unproved beliefs about the world. We know that the European continent was kept locked up for many years by the fears of sea monsters and drop-offs that kept ships from wandering too far away from the mainland. We know also that the search for Prester John, the Fountain of Youth, and the Seven Cities of Cíbola strongly affected the opening of the New World. America has been many things to the folk mind of Europe—from a land where the natives had crocodile-like tails to a land offering riches to all. The great folk-wandering which we call the immigration to the New World was triggered by folk beliefs as much as by the action of governments, wars, and other factors; yet the historian pays little heed to these factors. The late Dixon Wecter said of the American conquest in his volume on *The Hero in American History* that the "winning of the West is the great fantasy of our Republic. It is the epic which the folk mind has looked upon as more truly American than the settlement of Jamestown." Some historians would accuse all frontier historians of being folklorists. Folk beliefs, however, influence the direction of history and undergird the western movement at every step.

Ruin was caused by bursting artillery shells

[*Luncheon address given at the conference of the Western History Association, Salt Lake City, Oct. 18, 1963.*]

In the conquest of America the greatest folk belief that influenced the process was that it was a land of opportunity and freedom. Whether expressed in the Norwegian folk songs collected by Theodore Blegen or in a letter written back by a Pike's Peak emigrant saying that he was going to make the Rocky Mountains thinner, it was a simple belief of a simple people that they were going to a better world.

America was settled before there was any scientific knowledge about soil and before there was much knowledge about fertilizers and seeds. The pioneers had only their beliefs based on experience and superstitions to guide them. Midwestern farms lost their fertility at a time when settlers moved barns to escape the ever-growing manure pile behind them. A pioneer chose a pretty piece of soil by its color, the type of vegetation growing on it, and the general lay of the land. The black soil of Illinois so impressed one man that he took a bag of it back east to show his relatives the richness of the West. The Yankee emigrant who had lived in the eastern woodlands at first avoided the open prairies, for he knew that rich soil produced trees and poor soil produced only grass and weeds. Land that produced maple trees was richer than the land that had only oak brush on it. In the Mountain West, any land that produced sagebrush was certain to be sweet.

The Midwestern pioneer wanted a piece of land near water. If a spring were not available, then a well was dug. In the location of underground water, the settler had the belief of the forked twig. This belief in water witching probably dates back to the days of Moses who smote the rock and water gushed forth, but it came to the New World with the early Europeans who settled the English colonies. Most every community had a person who presumably had the gift of witching water.

The folk belief about water is an intriguing one. It affected the occupation of the Great Plains in several ways. Those who had fought in the Civil War knew that the great battles had been fought in heavy rain, and obviously rain was caused by the bursting artillery shells. Those who settled along the first transcontinental railroads and the telegraph lines edging across the plains knew that such interference with the elements brought forth rain, or how else to explain the rainy cycle that came with the coming of the railroads to the American West? These beliefs led to numerous rain-making attempts in the 1880's and 1890's, supported by the U. S. Department of Agriculture and characterized by the shooting of cannons into the clouds.

People have always told jokes about the lack of moisture in the West, and the tall tale and the under- and overstatement slowly evolved as the great contribution of the American frontier to the arts of humor: "Pigs had to be soaked so they would hold their swill." "It was so dry that even the water was only half humidity."

The pioneer knew how to predict the weather. If his corns bothered him or the dog ate grass, it would rain. These and dozens of other sayings predicted the weather in the day before the weather bureau attempted to guess it twenty-four hours ahead.

The beauty of the West is well told by the preacher who, seeing the Grand Canyon for the first time, exclaimed: "What a great handiwork of God!" But the cowboy simply said: "What a hell of a place to lose a cow in."

To turn to another aspect of the West, the land of "nothing but prairie and sky" produced some of the great stories about animals. One old settler in the Rockies heard a great commotion outside, found a cougar in a barrel. When the cougar stuck its tail out of the bunghole, he tied a knot in the tail and wondered what he would do with such an animal. That night the cougar ran off with the barrel, and the problem was solved. The next spring when the old man was walking along the ridge, he saw the old cougar still dragging the barrel. But what made him speechless was the sight of six little cougars, each dragging a little barrel behind it!

It was said that any mountain settler could tell the difference between a black bear and a grizzly. Kick one in the rump, and if it is a black bear it will climb the tree after you.

The history of the Indian wars has been told in considerable detail, but there is no sober account that gives a grassroots insight to such warfare as does this recollection of an attack on the Missouri frontier. The little blockhouse had only five defenders: two women loaded the rifles while one of the men prayed and the other two fought. When the Indians shot flaming arrows into the roof, they used the precious water supply to put out the fires until it was exhausted. When another fire started, one of the women produced a crock of milk, and the flames were extinguished.

Soon another shower of blazing arrows fell upon the roof, and it was on fire again. Roi and his comrade looked silently at each other, and then glanced sorrowfully toward their wives. They felt that their time had come . . .

For a moment Mrs. Roi disappeared in an adjoining room, and when she came out again, her face lighted up with a smile of triumph. In her hands she held a vessel, familiar in all bed-chambers, that contained a fluid more valuable than gold. Again the fire was extinguished, and then the little garrison sent forth a shout of exultation and defiance.

Three times more the roof was set on fire, but each time the mysterious vessel supplied the needed liquid, and the flames were extinguished. At last, the Indians finding themselves baffled at every turn . . . withdrew.

Perhaps this method of fighting Indians was not common, but it is an experience which ordinarily is known only in the oral tradition. In this case, it was put into print in a volume of pioneer reminiscences.

There is no historical factor sufficient to explain why the American people moved ever westward, except the belief that life would be better on beyond. To explain why the pioneers faced the hardship and uncertainty to jump from the Midwest frontier to Oregon and California in the early 1840's is impossible on any rational basis. They had a belief about the rich soil, the absence of "ager" and other sickness, and other simple beliefs which motivated them. The Mormon migration would be an exception to this, in part, since it was church organized and motivated by religious factors.

The gold discoveries attracted thousands of young

people who had a simple faith in the boundless mineral resources offering nuggets as large as hen's eggs to those who had the gumption to go after them. The published diaries and letters attest to this in a thousand ways, calling the strike areas "Eldorado" and the "land of promise."

When in the mines, they had only folk knowledge of how to seek ore. This folk knowledge accumulated with the years until an experienced prospector had a body of lore to guide him to rich veins, none of which was better than chance. He might simply play a hunch and go to the side of the mountain where he could wash some gravel in the stream. Others believed they could smell ore. Some "knew" that mineral-bearing rock would not hold snow, or that a stand of timber indicated where the ore lay. The more scientific prospectors examined the dirt around a prairie dog hole or opened the stomachs of animals to see if there were signs of gold or silver dust.

Perhaps the greatest discoveries were made by accident. James Marshall triggered the California gold rush when he dug a mill race. Henry Comstock saw "queer" looking stuff in a gopher hole. One man shot a snake and split a rock that proved to be high grade ore. Three drunken prospectors rolled a rock downhill, and thus exposed a vein that led to the great Tonopah discoveries in Nevada.

Old prospectors said they spent thirty years in the hills, but only five prospecting—the other twenty-five were spent looking for their burros. One time a prospector, camped on the Salmon River, reached for a rock to throw at his burro, only to see "traces" of silver in the rock, and this led to the discovery on Salmon River.

Old prospectors said they spent thirty years in the hills, but only five prospecting—the other twenty-five were spent looking for their burros.

For thirty years there were stories about the Sioux living in the Black Hills using nuggets as big as hen's eggs for jewelry. When the army sent Custer in with a scientific expedition in 1874, they learned that the lore was true, and this triggered the Black Hills Rush.

When Ed Anderson struck it rich in the Klondike and found a vein that paid $15,000 a month, he celebrated, was hit on the head with a champagne bottle, and could never remember where his valuable claim was located.

Erskine Caldwell says in *God's Little Acre* that an albino can locate gold—whether by smell or by witching rod is not known, but there seems to be no evidence that such powers were wrapped up in the lore of American gold discoveries.

Of all the folk heroes who have risen from the conquest of the West, the cowboy stands head and shoulders above all others. He has carved a major niche—"niche nothing," say Frantz and Choate in their book on *The Myth of the Cowboy*, "it's a gorge"—in American affection as a folk hero. The historian has been partially responsible for this distortion of history by mythology.

At one time the writer spent eight years getting what could be called an "authentically colorful" rather than a "colorful windy" story out of an old South Dakota cowboy named Bruce Siberts. This account of his, published under the title of *Nothing But Prairie and Sky*, bothered some of the historians who treasure accuracy and suspect oral sources. Did an incident really happen? Was the quotation really accurate? The answer to them is that the book is honest, but it may not be accurate. It is both history and lore, and it tells an honest story. It probably is more accurate than the written record of a congressional investigating committee or a newspaper story based on a release by the Department of Defense.

Siberts should not be regarded as one to make a final historical judgment on the open range, but he must be heard. He found most of the Dakota cowhands burnt out with whiskey or disease: they spent their summers working for a rancher and their winters living off some prostitute in town. "All in all," he concluded, "most of the old-time cowhands were a scrubby bunch. Only a few good ones got into the cow business and made good." Studies should be made of the percentage who "made good," thus exemplifying the American belief that the West was a land of opportunity, and the dominant ideology was individualism. Many a cowboy managed to put his brand on enough loose critters to get into business. Siberts says that the little ranchers always ate O. P. (other people's) beef which they dressed out from the herds of big outfits.

Siberts told of one old cowboy named "Lucky Bill" who came to his ranch out of the nowhere, lay around drunk for a few days, and then moved on, taking with him a team of horses, Sibert's razor, and some food. Later Sibert heard that he got a job at a ranch on Bad River, filled up on Jamaica Ginger and died. As Siberts told it: "The cowboys tried to give him a fairly decent funeral by digging up a fellow who was a sky pilot on the side. This preacher delivered a sermon on the prodigal son, which was about as good an alibi as could be made for a no-good cowboy. One old-timer said, 'If that son of a bitch don't go to hell, there ain't no use having one.' "

Why is it that the folk image of both sheep and the sheepherder has faded so much in American history? In ancient times, the sheep was an important animal, and the sheepherder, with his staff, was a human being of worth and dignity. English literature and art frequently show the humble shepherd with flowing locks and stately countenance. Frank Dobie tells of English aristocracy looking at a pastoral painting of the shepherd with his flock, and as they admire it, saying: "Lo, behold the shepherd cometh." But what do the cowboys in the American West say when they see the same scene? "Look at the lousy sheepherding scoundrel coming over the divide with his sheep. Boys, get your black masks and the wagon spokes."

Who gave the sheepherder the folk image he now has? Who created the folk saying: "Crazy as a sheepherder?" It is not enough to say that sheepherders are crazy because they associate only with sheep, or worse yet, they associate with each other.

If the writer of fiction has an interest in man pitted against nature, then the sheepherder and his flock offer the desiderata needed for successful writing. If the historian pursues learning to throw light upon the processes of life which affect man, then why has he not turned to the sheepherder? Could it be that the historian is the victim of the cattle ranching mythology that has been so successfully created by the dime novel, *The Virginian*, and the other influences that have made the cowboy the major myth of Western history?

One of the best books describing sheepherding is that

of Archer B. Gilfillan, an educated man who spent his lifetime in the Dakotas trailing sheep. His story is a happy combination of folklore and personal history, filled with insights into the life and with stories that throw light on the process.

Gilfillan admits that the labor unions deserve credit for the eight-hour day, but says, "It is the peculiar glory of the sheepmen of the West to have discovered the sixteen-hour day, the seven-day week, and the thirty-one-day working month."

Gilfillan also tells of a sheepman who dumped the mash from a homebrew experiment behind the corral, only to launch a puny little lamb into one of its wildest exploits. After it had sampled the residue, it got "a kind of cockeyed look, and staggered slightly when it walked. The next morning at daybreak he (the sheepman) was wakened by a terrible commotion in the backyard, and he jumped out of bed and ran to the window just in time to see the lamb overtake, pull down, and tear to pieces a big wolf that had been hanging around the ranch and doing considerable damage. . . ."

In the lore about sheep and sheepherders, the subject of sex often crops up. "What is a taxidermist?" "One who mounts animals." (They were called something else out in the sheep country.) "What is virgin wool?" "It comes from a ewe that can outrun a sheepherder."

The western pioneer believed that he could control most matters affecting his life by simply choosing good land, working hard, and observing such signs as planting in the light of the moon. When it came to illness, he had to accept the punishment of his Puritan God or depend upon his superstitions and Indian lore.

The frontier was a land without baths and clean underwear, where every bed was crawling with "livestock," and the tick and the fly were soon joined by the migrating housefly whose progeny crawled over every manure pile and milk crock in the West. It was a land where diets were heavy on meat but deficient in vitamins and where the favorite pastime in the drafty cabins was to remove the vermin by running a fine-tooth comb through the hair.

The miner who became rheumatic after standing in cold mountain streams carried a potato in his pocket to absorb the poison. Sore throats yielded to the wearing of a dirty sock. Toothaches were cured by chewing tobacco. Snake bites were cured by whiskey, and thick blood yielded to sassafras tea and other concoctions. A Connecticut emigrant to Colorado in 1859 reported that a common salutation in early Denver was, "How is your itch today. . . ." instead of "How are you today?" He attributed the condition to thick blood which irritated the skin, and the doctor had given him some salts to cure it. Scientific medicine was not much further advanced than the folklore on disease.

The American frontiersman outran his institutions for a short time, but the missionaries and circuit riders caught up with him very soon, and gave him a brand of Christianity that both Emerson and a bishop of the Established Church in Europe would have disowned. This religious belief is in evidence on simple tombstones across the continent as Fundamentalism seized the western mind. On a headstone in the Grundy Cemetery in eastern Illinois is the record of a four-month-old son who died—along with a number of others who died the same year—and the simple epitaph ends:

Budded on earth to bloom in heaven.

In a Hudson, Wisconsin, graveyard is a tombstone which reads:

Our little Jacob has been taken away from
the Earthly Garden
To bloom in a Superior Flower Pot above.

In a deserted mining camp back of Gunnison, Colorado, is a headstone that came all the way from Denver via railroad and wagon to mark the grave of a hard rock miner's daughter. It is enclosed in the only iron fence in the little cemetery, and eloquently says to all who look at it:

Remember friend as you pass by,
As you are now, so once was I;
As I am now, so you shall be,
Prepare for Death and follow me.

Bruce Siberts, with a lot of prodding, told of the quaint belief of old cowhands:

They claimed that after an old cowhand died he came back to the prairie as a jack rabbit and that to shoot one would be murder . . .

Once at a roundup we were arguing religion when a storm came up and lightning struck the cook's Dutch oven and scattered the pots and pans all around. This made the cook so mad he shook his fist toward the sky and said, "Raise your sights, you old bald-headed son of a bitch, if you want to get me."

Mark Twain in one of the best pieces of literary lore to be found gives a colorful description of the American frontier process:

How solemn and beautiful is the thought that the earliest pioneer of civilization . . . is never the steamboat, never the railroad, never the newspapers, never the Sabbath-School, never the missionary—but always whiskey! Such is the case. Look history over and you will see. The missionary comes *after* the whiskey—I mean, he *arrives* after the whiskey has arrived. Next comes the poor immigrant with axe and hoe and rifle; next, the trader; next the miscellaneous rush; next the gambler, the desperado, the highwayman, and all their kindred in sin in both sexes; and next, the smart chap who has bought up an old grant that covers all the land; this brings in the lawyer tribe; the vigilance committee brings in the undertaker. All these interests bring the newspaper; the newspaper starts up politics and a railroad; all hands turn to and build a church and a jail—and behold civilization is established forever in the land

BOATMEN'S NATIONAL BANK, ST. LOUIS

Gateway to the West

The Museum of Westward Expansion at The Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, St. Louis

BY JOHN W. JENKINS

Most museums of American history develop through the efforts of local civic leaders, who thereby demonstrate their strong interest in preserving our nation's heritage. The efforts of such leaders in St. Louis have resulted in national recognition of the historic importance, in the epic story of the American West, of a riverfront site on the west bank of the Mississippi just south of the Eads Bridge in downtown St. Louis. From here, near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, fur traders, Oregon pioneers, Forty-niners, and other frontiersmen set out for the long overland journey, earning for St. Louis the title, "Gateway to the West."

On December 21, 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the executive order establishing Jefferson National Expansion Memorial as part of the National Park System. The memorial, about 40 city blocks, was established to create an enduring tribute to the magnificent vision of Thomas Jefferson and the other great Americans who directed the territorial expansion of the United States to the Pacific, and to commemorate the heroic exploits of those frontiersmen and other pioneers who explored and settled throughout the American West.

To develop the memorial, the citizens of St. Louis in

1935 voted a $7,500,000 bond issue to which federal funds would be added to bring the total to $30,000,000. With some of this money land for the memorial was purchased, and during the late 1930's and early 1940's crowded industrial and commercial buildings, mainly of late nineteenth-century origin, were cleared from the site. Two early historic buildings within the memorial were retained for restoration. The restored Old Courthouse, begun in 1839, contains a number of refurnished rooms and some museum exhibits relating to the settlement of the West. The Courthouse was the scene of the original Dred Scott trial. This building is also the National Park Service's administrative headquarters for the memorial. The old French Cathedral of St. Louis, completed in 1834, is the second handsome and historic building to undergo restoration, under an agreement between the Secretary of the Interior and the Archbishop of St. Louis.

During World War II further development of the site was discontinued. Following the war, to restimulate national interest in the memorial project and to insure that the ultimate design would be the work of a master architect, the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Association, consisting of St. Louis citizens and National Park Service officials, held a national competition at a cost of $250,000 to select the project architect. Designs were received from nearly two hundred competitors, including most of the leading architects of the United States. The design of Eero Saarinen and Associates was selected in 1948, and Saarinen was commissioned as consulting and design architect for the development of the memorial. Saarinen's associates have

Artist's sketch of "Downtown in St. Louis Plan" showing the Memorial in foreground, the new stadium at left and other business, apartment and hotel-motel developments. Note locations of (A) the Old Cathedral and (B) the Old Courthouse.

continued in that capacity since his death in 1961.

The central feature of the Saarinen design is the soaring stainless steel-clad arch, symbolic of the role of St. Louis as the Gateway. The arch is now rising toward its ultimate height of 630 feet—75 feet higher than the Washington Monument. When completed it will rank among the great structures of the world. Its form is an inverted, weighted catenary curve, with the span at ground level also measuring 630 feet. Each leg of the arch is an equilateral triangle, almost 60 feet on a side, tapering to about 18 feet at the top, where an observation area will be located. The hollow arch, rising from bases extending 45 feet below ground level and keyed into bedrock, will be weighted with reinforced concrete up to the 300-foot level to provide stability and withstand winds up to 155 miles an hour. Although such a wind velocity is improbable, the safety factors are comforting assurance for those who will visit the top of the arch. As with all high structures the slight sway at the top, calculated to be about 18 inches at most, will hardly be noticeable on the enclosed observation deck.

Conventional elevator systems could not be adapted to follow the curvature of the arch; hence, a train system was designed to transport passengers from a station about 30 feet below ground level to within a few feet of the observation deck. A train will ascend and descend within each leg of the arch. The train will consist of eight small, capsule-like cars, each car to contain five seated passengers. In addition to the trains, stairs are to rise from ground level to the top, and a 12-passenger elevator will travel to the 370-foot level within each of the triangular cores of the arch legs. Present plans are that the stairs and elevators will not be used by the public except in emergencies.

Although the Gateway Arch and the other physical developments of the memorial have understandably been the most publicized features to date, of equal importance is the Museum of Westward Expansion in the new Visitor Center, an underground structure located between the legs of the arch. The walls and roof slab of the Visitor Center have been completed, and in its present unfinished state it is being used by construction contractors as shop space.

The Visitor Center's 100,000 square feet of floor space will be about 20 feet below ground level. Gently sloping ramps will lead from the bases of the arch at ground level down to the main lobby of the Visitor

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

The Old Cathedral was completed in 1834.

The Old Courthouse was begun in 1839 and completed, much as it now appears, in 1864.

Center, where visitors may choose to purchase tickets for a ride to the top of the arch or see, in one of two 250-seat theaters, a free 30-minute color and sound movie which will introduce the story of the trans-Mississippi growth of the nation from 1803 to 1890. After seeing the movie, the visitors may then move on into the 40,000-square-foot museum area, or cross the lobby to a small, 2,000-square-foot temporary exhibition area, or visit the book shop where they may purchase current and reprint editions of the literature on the American West, as well as postcards, color slides, and other carefully selected souvenirs. Also accessible from the lobby will be the public rest rooms and orientation rooms for school and special groups touring the memorial.

The Museum of Westward Expansion is being planned to present twelve aspects of the American West. Four of these units are general in concept, while eight of them are considered as exhibitions of specific frontier experiences. The exhibit units or galleries, in order of viewing sequence, are described as follows:

THE FACE OF THE WEST gallery has been conceived to serve as a dramatic introduction to the Museum of Westward Expansion. It will attempt to present a vivid portrait of the vastness of the physical features, the wildlife, the native tribes, and the grandeur and variety of the land of the American West as it must have appeared in 1803 at the time of the Louisiana Purchase and before its exploration by the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Seven areas have been selected to typify the unknown and unexperienced west faced by the Americans: the Plains, the Rocky Mountains, the Canyon Country, the Desert, the Great Basin, the Pacific Slopes and the Pacific Northwest.

THE OVERLAND exhibits will portray an experience which was shared, in some degree, by thousands of emigrants who made the westward trek—the gold and silver stampeders, the Mormons seeking a haven, the settlers moving to new land, and the soldiers and hosts of others drawn to the West. The trip west—either by ship or overland—was many things: It was adventure and hardship for many; but, above all, it was an experience which transformed those who lived through it. This experience, which involved time, distance, obstacles overcome, and a kind of fire-tempering of body, mind and spirit, was to have great and direct effects on the history of the West.

TITLE TO THE WEST presents the stories of diplomacy and war, under the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, in the acquisition of the nation's title to the lands obtained from France, Mexico, and Canada. It also traces, briefly, the drive from territory to statehood and full political status in the nation.

THE IMPACT OF THE WEST is to be the fourth of the generalized exhibit units. Herein will be presented the influences of the people and the lands of the trans-Mississippi West on the nation's political, economic, social, and cultural developments. Politically and economically, westward expansion was a unifying, nation-making force that permitted no division of the land. Expansion into the West also offered new life, new opportunity, and new freedom from restraints for many individuals. Also through this expansion many resources were developed which assisted the nation in attaining world leadership. The characteristics of westerners, generated by their experiences in this new land, are also summarized. Their customs, folk history, and cultural innovations which were adopted and adapted by the nation are also recounted, along with authors' and artists' versions of the West of the nineteenth century.

An introductory exhibit to the succession of western frontiersmen will epitomize their experiences in quotations such as the following lines from Stephen Vincent Benét's *Western Star:*

THE WEST CALLED

The bound who would be freed,
The sowers of wild seed,
The runners through the storm,
The women who gave birth . .

Out of your fever and your moving on,
(Americans, Americans, Americans,)
Out of your unassuaged and restless hearts,
Out of your conquest, out of your despair

YOU WON THE WEST

EXPLORERS OF A WILDERNESS is an all too brief account of the heroic deeds and accomplishments of the government men who found the trails for others

to follow. These men made the way of the emigrant and soldier easier, laid the groundwork for surveys for future transportation systems, collected scientific data, and suggested a basis for planning or controlling the use of natural resources.

THE TRAPPERS AND TRADERS in the West moved out from St. Louis headquarters and began the Rocky Mountain fur trade as an extension of the trade in the Great Lakes area, but the scope of the western trade soon overshadowed its parent. These developments will be traced in this gallery, along with similar trade ventures which were intended to utilize and capitalize on some of the West's more readily accessible natural resources. Efforts of the traders to stake U. S. claims in competition to British encroachments into what Americans considered their rightful territory are also presented.

THE INDIANS OF THE WEST and the problems they created for the new westerners are presented by an ethnohistorical interpretation of the culture of the Northern Plains Indians. The Indian resistance to the encroachments of the westering Americans and the mutual lack of, and unwillingness to gain understanding of, each other's motives resulted in prolonged strife. The exhibits present the Indian reasoning which justified their resistance.

THE SOLDIER'S FRONTIER is an account of the experiences of the individual soldier rather than a mere roster of battles won and lost in the Indian wars. These exhibits interpret the soldier's role on the frontier, his life in garrison as well as in combat, with some emphasis on his contributions in winning, organizing, and mastering the West for the settlers, miners, cattlemen, and other frontiersmen.

THE MINER'S FRONTIER conveys the lure of the search for gold and silver—the always hoped for but seldom found Eldorados—which drew men on from place to place, establishing some settlements which endured and others which were left to crumble to ghost towns or disappear without a trace. The rush of the Forty-niners to California gave way to the inevitable and necessary development of companies employing new mining techniques and equipment. Then began the hopeful rushes of hundreds of individual prospectors to new Eldorados in Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana, which finally ended with their last opportunity in the rush to the Black Hills in the 1870's.

SETTLERS TO THE WEST offers four brief accounts of early American settlement, the first and second of Texas and California while they were still under Mexican ownership and control, and of Oregon while it was still under British control. Their subsequent transfers to the United States by war with Mexico and diplomacy with Mexico and Great Britain are also included. The fourth account is that of the Mormons' search for a new Zion and their taming of the desert to provide, in Utah, their own haven from persecution.

THE CATTLEMAN'S FRONTIER is portrayed as an empire of grass and features the Texas longhorn and the cowboy as the principal participants in the early development of this industry on the open range. The later developments and big business methods eliminated many individual cattlemen, and cowboys became less and less independent.

THE SODBUSTER'S FRONTIER traces the movement of farmers to the western plains after passage of the Homestead Act in 1862. The story of their struggles to get, keep, and develop farms, towns, and transportation in this strange new land, marks the end of the frontiers of the American West and is the last of the memorial's frontier exhibit units.

Thus, the movie and these twelve units of museum exhibits have been conceived as a logical presentation or interpretation of the great American West. Ideally, our story of westward expansion should be presented by leading the visitor to the movie first, then through each of the twelve galleries of exhibits to see each exhibit in proper sequence. However, few Americans beyond school age will consent, cheerfully, to being herded in any manner; therefore, visitors will be told and shown the way to go, but from that point on they will be on their own to enter or leave galleries as they wish.

It was mentioned earlier in this account that a group had developed fairly ambitious exhibit plans for the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial Museum in 1938 to 1940. No one need be surprised that twenty years later the whole planning process was begun again, by different personnel, and with different ideas and concepts for the interpretation of westward expansion.

With funds made available by Congress, and the nearness of the 1964–65 celebration of the 200th anniversary of the founding of St. Louis, all phases of planning and construction were sped up in the late 1950's. By January of 1960 Eero Saarinen was requiring detailed information as to space types and needs for his design for the Visitor Center in which the Museum of Westward Expansion would be located.

In the meantime, National Park Service officials, including architects and historians, met to determine guidelines and methods for answering questions and meeting the needs of the architect. In January of 1960 George Hartzog, then superintendent of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, and now director of the National Park Service, stated that: "It has long been recognized by all concerned that the major challenge we face here is one of designing a museum which will be in its own right a notably effective expression of the National Expansion theme."

By the fall of 1960 six NPS historians and an archeologist were transferred to JNEM to assist the Chief Park Historian in the research for the interpretive development. Also by that time, a general Interpretive Prospectus and a Museum Planning Prospectus had been prepared and their use approved by the Regional Office at Omaha and the NPS office in Washington. It had been determined also that the detailed museum planning would be done by Service personnel. In November and December of 1960 three staff members from the NPS Branch of Museums were detailed to the project for six months, in which time the museum exhibit planning was to be accomplished.

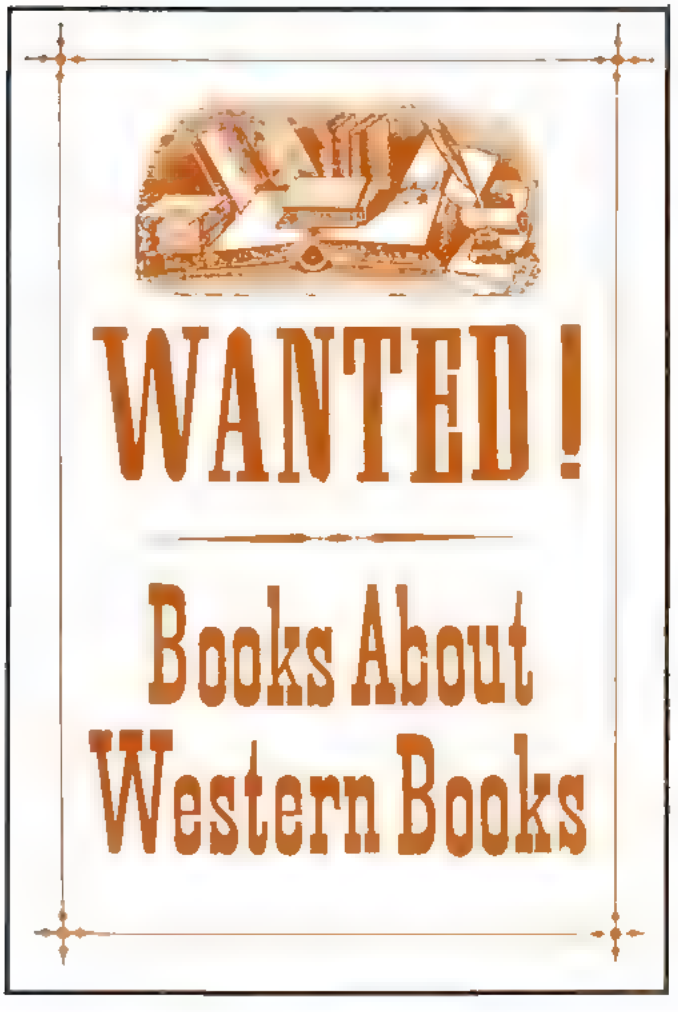
The last weeks of 1960 and the early months of 1961 were filled with conferences with Eero Saarinen and his associates, with NPS historians, and other specialists. Mr. Saarinen wanted our ideas on space needs, and we had discussions as to the general type of exhibits and visitor needs within the Visitor Center. He needed to know what the visitors could and would do, where they would go, and how many would be attracted to the arch, down the ramps into the underground Visitor Center, to the top of the arch, to the museum, and to the movie. Estimates as to numbers of visitors ranged from a conservative million to five million per year, but it was agreed to compromise and design for a high of about three million annual visitors.

It was recognized that many visitors would visit the memorial but once in a lifetime, and, if curious enough and sturdy enough, they would need to spend four or more hours to see all the principal features—the Gateway Arch, the movie, and the more than two hundred exhibits in the 40,000-square-foot museum. Anticipating the large number of visitors and the physical demands which would be placed on them, the architects and exhibits planners provided rest areas within the museum and spacious arrangements of exhibits, as well as larger-than-normal size exhibits. Although this is the largest museum in the system (the next largest will be the American Museum of Immigration at the Statue of Liberty, with about half as many exhibits), it is small by comparison with many large municipal or state museums. But the intention was not to plan merely the largest museum in the system; its size was obviously necessary to contain what was considered a minimum number of exhibits to portray the scope of the trans-Mississippi westward expansion.

As with many such memorial projects which combine outstanding architectural concepts with other planning, there are difficulties in estimating and obtaining sufficient funds for construction. In addition to funds for land purchase in the 1930's, Congress later authorized a maximum of $23,000,000 for construction and development within the memorial site. This amount was based on estimates provided in advance of most of the detailed planning and designing and several years ahead of the contractors' bids. In these times of consistently rising construction costs the funds are now all committed for the completion of the arch and the bare shell of the underground Visitor Center. The completion of the latter structure and the exhibits will require additional funds, and ways for obtaining these funds are now being studied.

Over $1,250,000 will be needed to complete the research, procurement of specimens and the preparation, construction and installation of the exhibits. Each year of delay adds to all of these costs at a rate of several thousand dollars. However, the Gateway Arch is to be completed early in 1965, approximately two hundred years after the founding of the village of St. Louis. If all else goes well, it is hopefully possible that the Museum will be completed a year or so later.

Shreds from Henry Wagner's Mantle



BY ARCHIBALD HANNA, JR.

Although this is nominally a conference of librarians, I am pleased to see that the distinguished audience before me includes representatives of those two indispensable adjuncts to rare-book librarianship, private collectors and antiquarian booksellers. If this were all, my task as a keynoter would be an easy one. I could simply discourse for the required length of time on the great booksellers and collectors of Western Americana, and the rehearsal of familiar anecdotes of Edward Eberstadt and Charlie Everitt, of Henry Wagner, Thomas W. Streeter and William Robertson Coe would lull you into that euphoria so necessary for the more serious and scholarly papers to follow.

Unfortunately this course is not open to me, for the gathering today also includes a select group of historians, the ultimate users of the books which we so zealously collect and jealously guard. We should not bore them with these intimate family reminiscences, but rather seek some common ground so that this rare con-

[KEYNOTE ADDRESS AT THE WESTERN AMERICANA INSTITUTE, CHICAGO, JULY 12, 1963.]

junction may not be fruitless. Librarians and historians meet together so infrequently that, if I may borrow an Irish bull from my esteemed mentor Samuel Flagg Bemis, president of the American Historical Association, this virgin field is pregnant with possibilities.

Now it is one of the peculiarities of Western Americana that the great research collections, by and large, are formed by collectors who are usually not scholars and used by scholars who are usually not book-lovers. As to the nature and qualifications of the librarians who preside over them, modesty—or the fear of retaliation—forbids any comment.

Although the interests of book-collectors and historians are often disparate and indeed occasionally opposed, they do have a common meeting point on the debatable ground of bibliography, and here the librarians and booksellers can join them. All of us use bibliographies; all of us at times produce them.

We do not, of course, all need the same type of bibliography. The bookseller ordinarily starts with a book in hand. He must identify it, verify its completeness, and then price it. For his purposes, the bibliography should provide enough information to distinguish between editions, full and accurate collations, and some indication of the number of copies known to exist, preferably in the form of locations.

Does all this sound too obvious to bear repetition? Yet we do tend to forget some of these very basic questions which will determine not only our assessment of the present state of western bibliography but also the needs of the future.

The needs of the private collector are very similar to those of the bookseller. To be sure, he usually starts out not with a book but a bookseller's catalog in hand but also wants some idea of relative scarcity, and he wants, after the book arrives, to be able to check and make sure that it is complete and the proper edition. Not all booksellers, to our sorrow we must say, are as learned and as thorough as the distinguished representatives of the profession who are present today—and even when they are, mistakes occasionally happen. But in addition to this, the collector would also like some annotation which would give him a clue to the significance, the reliability, and the intrinsic value of the work when these are not obvious from the title page or the sheer notoriety of the book.

I was going to say, how else will he learn to recognize sleepers, but of course every bookseller also will have a copy of this ideal bibliography and there will be no more sleepers. But at least it will save untold time and frustration on the part of both collector and bookseller, since there will be no more books bought and subsequently returned as not being what they purported. Hereafter anyone who orders Frank Cushing's *Almost a Life*, or *Saved by the Indians* will know that he is getting not a rare captivity, unknown to Field, but a testimonial for Kickapoo Indian Snake Oil.

For the historian the notes are the most important feature, for he starts not with a book in hand but a subject in mind, and the bibliography must lead him to the relevant books. A few years ago, at a meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Mr. Thomas Adams, Mr. Edwin Wolf and I, under the formidable chairmanship of Stanley Pargellis, made an attempt to breach this long standing custom. We suggested that once in a while the historian should examine the books in a particular area and see what questions they raised in his mind instead of formulating a problem and then trying to find the books which would supply the answer. There were other points at issue, too, but I regret to state that all our eloquence, even combined with Mr. Pargellis's genial ferocity, failed to produce any notable conversions. Under the circumstances then, if we expect bibliographies to be of use to the historian, they will have to be fully annotated and imaginatively and thoroughly indexed.

In addition he will want location of copies of those books so rare that they are not in his own library. And although he will not be so concerned about priority of editions as the collector, the number of editions and translations will be a significant factor in his evaluation of the popularity and influence of the book.

We come at last to the librarian. What does he require of a bibliography? The answer is: Everything that everyone else does, and a little more. In the acquisition of books, his needs are similar to those of the private collector. He too needs some guidance in the significance and relevance to his collection of books that are not known to him. This is particularly true when his natural greed must be tempered by an inadequate budget—and what librarian ever had an adequate one?—and the best possible choice made in terms of the present needs and long-term goals of his library.

The choice made and the books acquired, they must

be catalogued. This is a task which the private collector can often either forego completely or else reduce to the most Spartan essentials. The librarian cannot, and the present scarcity of trained cataloguers, together with the slap-dash procedures adopted by the Library of Congress for its printed cards—apparently even with a budget approaching one hundred billions the federal government cannot afford proper cataloguing—make a bibliography which contains accurate collations more valuable than rubies.

Unlike the private collector, the librarian must deal frequently and closely with the historian. By this I do not mean to imply that scholars find no cooperation from collectors—the examples set by Henry Wagner, T. W. Streeter and Everett Graff are more than sufficient evidence to the contrary. But with the private collector this is a matter of choice, while for the librarian the scholarly world is his major reason for existence. Consequently, unless his knowledge is all-embracing and his memory infallible, he will want a fully annotated bibliography to aid him in advising the historian of relevant materials. Further, since a conflict may arise between his function as curator of rare books and his duty to make them available, he will be happy if a bibliography advises him of later editions and reprints which he may acquire in order to save wear and tear on the original. The importance of location of copies is obvious in this context. I might add that if bibliographies were to locate copies in private as well as institutional hands, it might aid considerably in planning those long and arduous campaigns for the wooing of donors.

Having sufficiently belabored the obvious and demonstrated what we already knew, that any satisfactory bibliography of Western Americana must provide full enough information for identification, collation for cataloguing, annotation for evaluation, and location for at least the rarest books, let us survey the field and consider what has already been accomplished.

We should first, I suppose, make some effort to delimit the field of Western Americana. I am well aware that any such definitions are open to challenge, but the ones I will use are those I am most familiar with, that is, the ones we apply to the Yale Collection of Western Americana. Geographically then, to me Western Americana covers the region between the Mississippi and the Pacific, the Mexican border and the North Pole. Chronological limits are harder to set, but without being too precise we can start with 1542, the first edition of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative, and continue on down to the closing of the frontier in 1892. Exceptions will have to be made, of course. The terminal date is much too late for say Louisiana and Missouri; still too early for Alaska. Every collector and librarian must decide for himself when any particular area ceases to be a frontier.

As to the nature of the materials to be included, I would divide them into three groups. First, and most important, are those first-hand accounts of the exploration, settlement, and development of the West, together with some retrospective histories by participants, published contemporaneously or at least close to the events described.

The second group would include the early products of the printing press in the Western states. The thorny question of determining the point at which printing ceases to be early enough so that every product of the press is of collectable interest regardless of its content, I leave to every man to decide for himself.

The third group would include those materials whose physical nature and ephemeral qualities require some sort of special handling, if not full-fledged rare-book treatment, for their mere preservation. Here we get into that blizzard of broadsides, flyers, government and state documents, speeches in Congress on the admission of California, and so on. The individual pieces may have little monetary value, but left in the open stacks they melt away like snowflakes.

These three groups, although they include a tremendous number of titles, are only a small part of the literature of the West. They are, however, the portion whose bibliography most concerns us as collectors and rare book librarians. The great volume of narrative histories, from Bancroft to mug books, the recent flood of scholarly monographs, and the hardy perennials on Custer's last stand or the James brothers are not of such grave concern. I cannot, however, pass over without mentioning the excellent guides to current publication represented by Lawrence Powell's monthly *Books of the South West*, the quarterly *Mountain-Plains in Books* and the bimonthly *Mormon Americana*.

When we come to survey what presently exists in the way of accurate, detailed, and annotated bibliography of Western Americana, the picture is a rather disappointing one. Of works that cover any substantial segment

of the first-hand narratives relating to the West, there are only four which can be considered as even reasonably satisfactory.

There are of course the two great Wagner bibliographies. The debt which all of us in the field of Western Americana owe to that great pioneer is too large and too well known for me to comment on here. His *Spanish Southwest* is a monumental work which has stood the test of time. However, it is now more than twenty-five years since the Quivera Society edition, revised by Wagner, appeared, and the work has become difficult to obtain. It is high time for a new edition incorporating such new materials and corrections as have turned up in the intervening period.

With the *Plains and The Rockies* we are in slightly better shape, since Charles Camp's latest revision appeared only ten years ago. Unfortunately, because of the haste with which the work was done, it is marred by a great many small but annoying errors. However, the greatest need here is not so much the correction of these as the enlargement of the scope of the volume. At present it covers only the period 1800–1865. Granted that the most significant travels and explorations took place in this period; to bring it down to 1890 would add greatly to its usefulness.

While Thomas W. Streeter's great *Bibliography of Texas* covers only a single state, that one state is large enough to form a region by itself. Inspired by Wagner and the fruit of thirty years of collecting and scholarship, this admirable work can serve as a model for state and regional bibliographies. It seems quite likely that there will be additions to Part II, which lists Mexican imprints relating to Texas, but by and large the coverage is so exhaustive that it will be a long time before revision is needed.

Finally there is Robert Ernest Cowan's *Bibliography of the History of California and the Pacific West*. Published in 1914, it has never been superseded. Exasperating as it sometimes is to the habits of the librarian, who would never think of looking for the German edition of Venegas under the translator's name, its annotations, distilled from years of experience, make it indispensable. The 1933 Cowan *Bibliography of the History of California*, although expanded to include almost five thousand titles in place of the eight hundred-fifty of the earlier work, has condensed or omitted so many of the notes as to make it a quite different, and in my opinion far less valuable a work.

For the history of printing in the West, the picture is far more encouraging. The work of the American Imprints Inventory, spotty as it necessarily was by the nature and methods of the project, nevertheless laid a good foundation. In many cases this has been elaborated and refined. I need mention only the work of Lester Hargrett on Oklahoma printing, of George Belknap on Oregon, Albert Allen on Dakota and Colorado, and most recently Robert Greenwood's California imprints. Much remains to be done of course, but the need is not so great here as in other fields.

In the field of government documents, promotional material, and ephemera, it is not surprising that little has been done. There is, to be sure, Poore's *Descriptive Catalog* and the *Checklist of United States Public Documents*. Given time and patience enough, one can manage to extract a good deal of bibliographical information from them. The indexing is to say the least spotty, and of course annotation is nonexistent.

That no bibliographer has made any significant foray into the jungle of promotional pamphlets, speeches in Congress, handbills, and so forth is not surprising. The material is too voluminous, too ephemeral, and does not justify the time which should be spent on more vital projects. Indeed what this field needs more than anything else is a few highly selective bibliographical essays of the type urged by Stanley Pargellis at the annual meeting of the Bibliographical Society in 1959. Within the confines of a single such essay, the whole field of let us say materials issued by land grant railroads to promote land sales and passenger traffic might be reviewed, a few typical pieces examined in detail, and the rest covered by a general description. Similar essays might well be devoted to the literature on western mining intended for eastern investors, the propaganda issued by various western chamber of commerce and territorial immigration bureaus, and so forth. Such checklists of speeches in Congress as appear in the appendix to Streeter's Texas bibliography and Robert Cowan's on the admission of California also serve a useful purpose.

The field here is a large one and demands much from the bibliographer. To become thoroughly familiar with a large body of literature, to seize its salient characteristics, choose the best examples and condense the whole into a short space requires talents which are far from common. Indeed, as Mr. Pargellis pointed out,

good bibliographers are far rarer than great scholars.

Having surveyed thus hastily what has been accomplished in the bibliography of Western Americana, let us turn now to what remains to be accomplished. We could, of course, spend hours on this, but I would like simply to suggest a few of the greatest gaps yet to be filled.

To begin with, we desperately need a full-scale, annotated bibliography of the Pacific Northwest. It should cover the whole of the old Oregon, Washington, Idaho and western Montana, together with British Columbia and Alaska, and should include all significant personal narratives and contemporary works from the earliest discoveries down to 1890. The Klondike gold rush should probably be covered in a separate work. For the history of the West this is one of the most important areas. The literature, even on a selective basis, is enormous. Yet there is no adequate bibliographical guide to it. Smith's *Pacific Northwest Americana* serves adequately the purposes for which it was intended—that is, a union list for a selected group of libraries in that region, but many of the most important books are not included and there are no annotations. One is forced to fall back on the earlier Cowan, on the Soliday catalogue, and on Eberstadt's catalogue no. 118; and the three of them together cover only a small fraction of the books in question.

A second very obvious need is for a good bibliography of the Mexican War. Call it only a "Rehearsal for Conflict" if you like, it is still the most important war for the West. The literature, especially if we include, as we must, the nonmilitary aspects, is far larger than most people dream. Indeed, if we include the Mexican literature on the subject, its full extent is quite unknown. Yet Haferkorn's bibliography is so rudimentary as to be almost unworthy of mention, while the one bibliography of Mexican military history has less than half a dozen entries on the subject. Justin Smith lists the sources for his admirable history, but it is a short title list only, without notes, and omits all broadsides. A new history of the war is needed; the materials for it exist, but any kind of adequate guide to them does not.

Another distressing gap in Western bibliography is the lack of any adequate bibliography of the Mormons. Their importance to the religious, economic, social and political history of the West can hardly be exaggerated. A great deal of work remains to be done in these fields by historians, but the full extent of the possibilities will not be apparent until a thorough bibliographical coverage of the sources exists. So far we have only Dale Morgan's bibliography coverage of the minor and schismatic Mormon churches. If any one can devise a means to pry him loose from his preoccupation with overland diaries and the fur trade and induce him to complete his Mormon bibliography, he will be doing a great service to Western history.

There are many other gaps, of course. We need a good bibliography of the fur trade. We need one on the Pacific railroads. The relatively new field of ethnohistory would welcome a guide to the materials in its field. But enough has been said to give an idea of the scope of the problem.

In any case, the real problem is not to determine suitable subjects for bibliographies. The problem is to decide who is going to compile them. Shall it be the booksellers? There are certain notable precedents. Almost fifty years of experience were distilled into Wright Howes' *USiana*. And as an avid consumer of booksellers' catalogues, I am fully aware of the surprising amount of often recondite but always solid bibliographical information to be found in such sources as *Midland Notes*, the Eberstadt catalogues, especially the great series on the Plains and Rockies, Peter Decker's Soliday catalogue, and *The Month at Goodspeed's*. Moreover, the bookseller has one advantage which the librarian and collector do not have. Over the years a fair number of copies of all except the rarest books will pass through his hands. Thus, simply in the normal routine of events he will have had opportunities for comparison which would require a great deal of travel to various libraries on the part of anyone else.

Nevertheless, there are certain impediments in the way of the bookseller as bibliographer. One of them is the very obvious necessity of making a living. There may still be a few naive souls who envision the bookseller's time as happily spent browsing through his own stock, but most of us realize that twenty-four hours a day is barely enough for him to make even his modest competence. To ask him to spend his time on so unremunerative an activity as bibliography is to make unfair demands on him. This should be a task for his retirement years, but how many booksellers ever retire?

There are one or two other little difficulties as well. One is the fact so irritating to librarians, that booksellers

do not enter books under the *correct heading*—that is, the one a librarian would select—but insist on entering them under the heading most apt to be familiar to their customers. And what librarian here will have the effrontery to endeavor to teach Ernie Wessen the rules for corporate entry of government documents? Then there is that innate tendency of booksellers' annotations, which are after all designed to sell books, toward a prose a little more purple than we consider suitable to scholarly bibliography. I say nothing of the bookseller who was reputed to be able to detect at first glance a single appearance of the word "Oregon" in a five-hundred-page volume.

Shall we nominate the private collector as our bibliographer? Certainly the greatest achievements in this field have been listed to their credit. Indeed, if we could be sure of producing a few Wagners and Streeters in each generation, our problems would be solved. Unfortunately we can be sure of no such thing. To find scholarship allied with collector's zeal, endowed with ample means and furnished with patience and leisure to pursue a bibliographic project for the necessary ten or twenty years is a very rare concatenation of circumstances.

I am afraid that the usual result of the book collector's essay in bibliography is simply the detailed and loving description of a handful of his own favorite books. Certainly the picking of the ten rarest books in this field or the eighty most important in that is a pleasant pastime and affords endless opportunities for good talk and nonacrimonious controversy, but it does not provide the kind of bibliographic tools which we need so desperately.

When the collector does set himself a wider and more scholarly field, his work is apt to be marred by his ignorance of the basic mechanics of bibliographic entry and description. Not many of them can or necessarily should follow the example of a prominent New York collector who enrolled at Columbia Library School in order to learn how to catalogue his own books. I do not feel that all bibliographies must necessarily conform to the ALA rules for descriptive cataloguing. But they should follow consistently some set of rules. We have had a few examples lately in our own field of bibliographies almost unusable because of their complete disregard of basic principles.

If we decide to turn bibliography over to the historians we are in an even worse situation. Although well equipped to select and annotate the works to be included, they are far more ignorant of cataloguing rules than most collectors. This of course might be corrected, but they labor under a much greater disability. They are committed to a world where promotion depends on publication, and where standards have become so distorted that the publication of a bibliography, no matter how scholarly or useful, counts rather less toward promotion than an article in a learned journal. Under these circumstances, we will not find many historians willing or able to plunge into bibliography.

And so we come at last to the librarians. Surely this is the group which ought to be producing the bibliographies. They are trained in cataloguing procedures, the intricacies of corporate headings or difficult collations should have no terrors for them, they are surrounded by reference and research tools, and they have custody of the books to be included in the bibliography. Why then has there not been a series of bibliographies of the West issuing from the Coe Collection, the Rollins Collection, from the Newberry and Bancroft libraries? About all we seem to have produced recently is G. K. Hall's photoreproductions of our card catalogues. While these do serve a useful purpose as finding lists and as subject guides, they are no substitute for the kind of work we desperately need.

There are, I suppose, several explanations. One of them is the obvious fact that really good bibliographers are no more common among librarians than among book collectors. A Wilberforce Eames does not happen any more frequently than a Henry R. Wagner.

Another one is the fact that the type of librarian who would be most qualified for bibliographical work is the one least likely to do so. This harmless paranoiac, who lives in and for his books, is so busy reading booksellers' catalogues, bedevilling his superiors for money to acquire the things he finds there and then assisting readers, in person or by mail, in the use of the things he has acquired that there is no time left over for compiling a bibliography. Unfortunately that great academic institution, the sabbatical, has rarely been extended to librarians.

Having neatly eliminated all the possibilities, what is the answer? Do we turn to the information retrieval specialists, procure a large IBM machine and dozens of

continued on page 78

WESTERN BOOKS

The Indian Wars

■CUSTER AND THE GREAT CONTROVERSY: THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF A LEGEND. **By Robert M. Utley.** *Great West and Indian Series, XXII (Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1962). xii + 184 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $6.75.*

■THE LAST DAYS OF THE SIOUX NATION. **By Robert M. Utley.** *Yale Western Americana Series, III (New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Press, 1963). xiv + 336 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $7.50.*

It is not often that one has the opportunity of reviewing simultaneously two excellent works by one author. The first of these, both in subject and in date of publication, is yet another addition to one of the West's most inexhaustible themes, the Battle of the Little Bighorn in the year of the nation's centennial celebrations.

Unlike many of his numerous predecessors who have joined in the great controversy, Mr. Utley chooses to pose questions and seek tentative answers rather than to sift the evidence for what supports a cherished theory. The result is that, if one could forget the tragic afternoon, the controversy at times becomes comic opera.

After a brief sketch of the background, the author turns to the creators of the controversy. Chief among these was Frederick Whittaker, who had his *Life of Custer* in print within six months after the battle. In his hastily written account, Custer could do no wrong; the blame, if any, had to fall elsewhere, largely on luckless Major Reno. "The importance of Whittaker's *Life of Custer* in shaping the public image of Custer and the Battle of the Little Bighorn can hardly be exaggerated. In the field of popular literature, book after book appeared . . . that leaned heavily upon his interpretation. In many he is the sole source consulted. In a number he is flagrantly plagiarized" (p. 56).

The great debate centered around the charge that Custer disobeyed General Terry's orders. Terry himself remained silent on this point, not so those who admired Custer or those who hated him. Gradually the debate turned to the question of what actually happened on the battlefield, and it is not yet ended.

Regarding the accounts of those who actually participated in the battle, Utley writes that "it is apparent from this tiny sampling of Indian testimony that the only witnesses to the annihilation of Custer utterly failed to clear up the mystery of how it happened. . . . One cannot emerge from a study of Indian testimony without the thought that it may someday, if sifted through the right mental equipment, unravel the enigma of the Little Bighorn" (p. 114). It is clear, as he points out, that none of the Indians knew who killed Custer, or even that he was present. "The number of 'only survivors' of Custer's Last Stand long ago exceeded the full strength of Custer's battalion. . . ." More than a dozen men were never found or accounted for, so other "survivors" may yet appear.

The second book concerns the Sioux from the commencement of reservation life to the tragedy at Wounded Knee Creek. Together these books embrace one of the major epochs of westward advance, the end of the "horse and buffalo" culture of the Plains warriors. The Custer battle was the only time the Sioux tribes

made common cause. The victory was futile, for the destruction of the bison herds heralded the end of the old ways.

In almost every case where Indians were reduced to reservation life, they were obliged to adopt totally new ways. The cultural shock, together with the consequences of defeat, was usually demoralizing. With the Sioux, the reduction of their lands and the violation of treaties added to the sense of desperation. It is not surprising that they turned eagerly to a religion that promised destruction of the hated whites and the return of the old days.

When the Ghost Dance craze reached the Sioux, they rejected the pacific strictures of the Paiute Messiah, Wovoka. In the Sioux camps the Ghost Dance assumed a belligerent aspect, for although the messiah promised that the land would open and swallow the whites, Sioux warriors itched to help in the good work. Their growing insubordination made the Ghost Dance a problem.

The Ghost Dance fever and the Wounded Knee battle provide frequent illustrations of the role of chance in historical episodes, and Mr. Utley has handled his materials with consummate skill and art. Out of the multitudes of accounts available he has selected the significant detail with an unfailing sense of what is both important and dramatic. The result is history of high quality in the finest tradition.

When Sioux agency police at Standing Rock attempted to arrest Sitting Bull, for example, a bloody fight began. "In the midst of the melee, with bullets lacing the air, Sitting Bull's old horse [given to him by Buffalo Bill] sat down and began to perform tricks learned during its days with the Wild West show. The police were scared. Had the spirit of the dead chief entered the sitting horse?" (p. 160). The fight quickly ended.

The furious, hopeless battle at Wounded Knee was, in the words of the author, "a regretable, tragic accident of war that neither side intended, and that called forth behavior for which some individuals on both sides . . . may be judged culpable, but for which neither side as a whole may be properly condemned" (p. 230). The battle, coming two weeks after the death of Sitting Bull, was an aftermath, for the death of the famed medicine man epitomized the end of Indian resistance.

Donald E. Worcester, Texas Christian University

■ FORTY MILES A DAY ON BEANS AND HAY: THE ENLISTED SOLDIER FIGHTING THE INDIAN WARS. **By Don Rickey, Jr.** *(Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, c. 1963). xiv + 382 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $5.95.*

This well-written book tells the story of the private soldiers and noncommissioned officers who furnished the sinew to that gallant army which had to accomplish its mission of controlling the Indians of the western plains and mountains despite public apathy, small pay, scarce rations, and miserable living conditions in the period from 1865 to the afternoon of December 29, 1890 when Wounded Knee was added to the long roll of engagements against the savages.

After reading this book one realizes that the soldier in the Indian wars was representative of the society which produced him; he was not an isolet cut to special specifications which would make him suitable for the work he had chosen. In short he was simply an American who chose to enlist in the army. He was the boy next door who left home one day—the next news of him from some unit of the fighting forces. Many men were trained in European armies; to this segment soldiering was an outlet in a familiar field in the country of their adoption.

Disabusing the public mind as to the qualifications of these men, Rickey points out that the army had former doctors, lawyers, school teachers, dentists, preachers, hatters, watchmakers, sailors, and even a shoemaker or two in its ranks. Some were learned and some were illiterate.

The material contained in this interesting book was gathered from many sources but particularly from over three hundred living veterans of the Indian wars who were still living in the 1950's. As most of the men did not keep written journals while in the service because of their inability to write or just plain indifference, his compilation of materials by questionnaire and personal interview serves an invaluable purpose in recording for posterity the experiences and feelings of these men.

Speaking of the duties of the army of this time, the author explains that U. S. troops played a major part in keeping the Indians on the reservations to which they had been assigned, thus making the expansion to the West feasible. The rapaciousness of illegal white squatters, gold prospectors, and cattlemen encroaching on

Indian lands came in for their share of attention, too.

The author pays tribute to the regular's better qualities of perseverance, endurance, initiative, loyalty, and courage. Those who fought the Indian wars emerge in this work as flesh and blood men. Neither saints nor sinners they were average American soldiers whose contributions to the growth of America have too often been overlooked.

Francis E. Rogan, Lancaster, California

Lewis and Clark

■ LETTERS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION WITH RELATED DOCUMENTS, 1783–1854. Edited by **Donald Jackson** *(Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1962). xxi + 728 pp. Illustrations, end-paper maps, appendixes, notes, index. $10.00.*

The editor offers this volume in ample proof that Lewis and Clark, afloat and ashore, were the "writingest explorers in their time," and, he might have added, the most written about. Here are gathered 428 letters, memoranda, and documents, relating to the 1804–1806 expedition, over half of which have never been published, written by the two captains and by those whose lives were touched by the expedition. This compilation complements the journals; it does not replace them. Jackson's contribution is that he has thrown light in dark corners. From now on, students of Lewis and Clark will have an invaluable reference to assist them in understanding the expedition in accurate contemporary perspective.

■ THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION. By **Meriwether Lewis.** *The 1814 edition, unabridged and with an Introduction by Archibald Hanna. Keystone Western Americana Series (Philadelphia and New York, J. B. Lippincott Company, c. 1961). 3 Vols. Appendixes, map. $1.95 each, Paper.*

This is a reprint of the "Nicholas Biddle" edition constructed in large part by the famous banking antagonist of Andrew Jackson. Biddle used Clark's as well as Lewis's and Ordway's journal, while having the incomparable advantage that no editor of these journals has since possessed—a bright member of the expedition, George Shannon, at his side to straighten out the puzzles of the manuscripts. The result is that this account is indispensable to any student of the explorers and is in its own right a great primary document.

■ THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE LEWIS & CLARK EXPEDITION. *Edited with an Introduction* by **Raymond Darwin Burroughs** *(East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, c. 1961). xii + 340 pp. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $7.50.*

Although their journals contain the first reliable descriptions of wild life populations in the areas drained by the Upper Missouri and by much of the Columbia, generally Lewis and Clark have not received scientific credit for these discoveries because few specimens were obtained and fewer preserved. Burroughs is concerned with the zoological contributions of the explorers. He finds that they can be credited with the white man's discovery of such notable species as the grizzly bear, the mule deer, the prong-horned antelope, the big-horned sheep, the prairie dog and other rodents and squirrels, many birds, reptiles, amphibians, and important species of salmon and trout.

California

■ MILITARY GOVERNMENTS IN CALIFORNIA, 1846–1850, WITH A CHAPTER ON THEIR PRIOR USE IN LOUISIANA, FLORIDA AND NEW MEXICO. By **Theodore Grivas.** *Frontier Military Series, IV (Glendale, California, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963). 247 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $8.50.*

The renewed emphasis on military history in recent

years has revived interest in study of the impact which the military establishment has had upon various aspects of American life. Students of the West, more than others, have been especially concerned with this field and have traced the manifold influences of the United States Army on the nineteenth century frontier. Among well-known works are those of W. Turrentine Jackson and Forrest Hill on the road-building activities of the army engineers, of Richard Bartlett on the great scientific surveys, of William Goetzman on army explorations, and of W. Eugene Hollon on the accomplishments of Pike. This volume by Professor Grivas reflects the current interest by delving into still another sphere in which the military was to play an important role—the establishment of the first governments in the West.

One of the book's main purposes is to demonstrate that, in the light of American experience, military authority and the development of representative, democratic government were not necessarily antithetical. In two, long introductory chapters Grivas surveys the policies of United States military governments in Louisiana, Florida, and New Mexico and seeks to show that through maintenance of order, they paved the way for the establishment of territorial status. More extensive evidence to substantiate this interesting thesis would be desirable, however, since the author himself shows that the inhabitants of Florida and New Mexico were violently opposed to occupation by the United States Army.

The major portion of the book is devoted to California, and here Professor Grivas is on surer ground. He demonstrates that American military government was of great benefit to California between 1846 and 1850 and perhaps saved the state from anarchy. As the gold rush and the sudden spurt in population created new econnomic and social problems, and as Congress failed to act decisively in establishing formal government in California, the military governors proved sufficiently flexible to cope with the situation. In retaining the *alcaldes* as dominant local officials, they displayed great wisdom and liberality. If California's transition to statehood was smooth, this was largely due to the accomplishments of military rule.

All students of western history will be interested in the subjects broached by this volume. Perhaps more extensive footnoting and deeper elaboration of main themes might have enabled the author to present his case more persuasively. But those who wish to study California's transition from Mexican to American rule will be glad to add this very useful guide to the older works of Willey and Goodwin.

Gerald D. Nash, University of New Mexico

■ THE CALIFORNIA TRAIL: AN EPIC WITH MANY HEROES. **By George R. Stewart.** *The American Trails Series (New York, McGraw-Hill Company, c. 1962). 339 pp. Illustrations, maps, author's note, index. $6.95.*

The California Trail! Magic: a name to conjure. Highway for countless emigrant-thousands in search of health, wealth, land and opportunity, this major travel artery supplied much of California's early human resources and had a partial share in populating the Pacific Northwest. But it was primarily the road to El Dorado.

This handsomely designed book, supported by ten appropriate maps, details the history of the founding, expansion, and use of the trail by westbound emigrants from the earliest overland trek, the 1841 Bartleson party, through the succeeding years of the 1840's, which culminated in the 1849 "Yellow Fever" stampede, and concludes with far too brief a chapter which deals summarily with the 1850's. Two useful "interchapters" describe how the emigrants traveled and where they went; a final chapter, "End of Trail," bespeaks a tender epitaph.

The specialist in western American history will find little that is new. The trail's terrain from Independence to Sacramento is familiar; the place names, old friends: many of the principal travelers are not strangers. But the specialist will find a beautifully chiseled narrative; a thoughtful synthesis; an author's perceptive eye for color, locale and description; a scrupulous regard for established fact; a steady focus on the human, the personal elements. Here is a dimensional mosaic that is rich in texture and sound in detail; it is a *tour de force*.

This book is a welcomed addition to "The American Trail Series" under the editorship of A. B. Guthrie, Jr. Professor Stewart's volume should find a ready place in the literature of Western Americana. Rare indeed are its literary and historical qualities. Unfortunately, the end bibliographical note fails to render justice to the skillful narrative and the depth of the author's re-

searches. That blemish, however, should not detract from the book's genuine merit.

Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., University of California, Los Angeles

■ FORMATIVE YEARS IN THE FAR WEST: A HISTORY OF STANDARD OIL COMPANY OF CALIFORNIA AND PREDECESSORS THROUGH 1919. **By Gerald T. White** (*New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, c. 1962*). *xv + 694 pp. Illustrations, tables, appendixes, notes, index. $7.50.*

When one approaches a work on any phase of the history of the Standard Oil Company, there flash through his mind images of the Rockefellers, Ida Tarbell, Allan Nevins, and a seminar in which the Robber Baron *vs.* Industrial Statesman antithesis is argued *ad infinitum*. It is, therefore, with some trepidation that one turns to such a work. If there be any thoughts of this nature in approaching this massive book, they are soon forgotten as there is unfolded the story of early oil ventures in the rich fields of California. This is not only a book for the economic historian, but also for the layman who buys gasoline for his car, for the geologist who would know more about early petroleum exploration, for the industrial chemist who would learn of the first refineries, and for many others.

The early story is that of the ventures before 1900 of companies antecedent to Standard Oil. The next section might be entitled "26 Broadway," as the business was part of the great Standard Oil combine operating in New York City. Then, after the Supreme Court's anti-trust decree in 1911, the scene shifts back to the Pacific Coast and an independent Standard Oil Company of California.

The book is business history as it ought to be written. It is a large and forbidding tome, but it is full of interest and surprise. The reader will learn that as early as 1855 asphalt was used for paving streets in San Francisco. He will find that the first oil tanker on the Pacific Coast was built in 1895: "Unlike the earlier West Coast oil carriers, which had been equipped with tanks fitted into the hull, the *George Loomis* was a true tanker. Its skin served as one big tank divided into six smaller tanks by one long and two transverse bulkheads." There is the story of the development of the "service station." In the early days of the automobile, hardware, paint, and grocery stores, garages, auto sales agencies, machine and bicycle shops were the main outlets for gasoline sales. "It was the desire for quality among other things, that caused motorists to call at the Seattle main station to purchase Red Crown and a Seattle warehousman named Roberts to devise in 1907 a rudimentary filling station, consisting of a galvanized hot water tank and a hose with a valve to dispense the gasoline." The stations soon spread over the West. In Los Angeles, for example, Standard outlets in January 1914 were pumping twenty-two per cent of all gasoline sold in the city.

Gerald White and his research team have taken time to explain the numerous practical operations in the history of the Standard Oil Company of California, indeed of the early history of the petroleum industry in that region, in a vivid and tangible manner which brings the oil epic to life.

Kenneth Holmes, Linfield College, McMinnville, Oregon

■ A HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA NEWSPAPERS, 1846–1858. **By Edward C. Kemble.** *Edited with a Foreword by Helen Harding Bretnor* (*Los Gatos, California, Talisman Press, 1962*). *398 pp. Portrait, indexes. $10.00.*

This book is an expression of a recent surge of interest in Edward C. Kemble (1828–1886), widely regarded as the greatest of early California journalists. Kemble's *History* was first published in the *Sacramento Union* in 1858. It covers over three hundred newspapers and many more newspapermen, and it is divided into sections for the principal cities and other areas.

Kemble was fitted for this task. In 1846 he came to Yerba Buena in the *Brooklyn*, which landed a large number of Mormons from New York. He was a non-Mormon, then seventeen years of age, and he worked in Sam Brannan's print shop in Yerba Buena, the little village later named San Francisco. He served under Frémont during the Conquest of California, returned in 1847 to become editor of Brannan's *California Star*, and in 1848 owned the *California Star and Californian*. In 1849 he was one of the founders of the *Alta California*. The same year he started the *Placer Times* at Sacramento and then returned to the *Alta*. In 1858 he joined the *Union*, in which his *History* appeared. Douglas C. McMurtrie published a reprint in New York in 1927.

Mrs. Bretnor's edition adds so much that she should be considered a joint author. The *History* occupies half of this book; the remainder is the work of Mrs. Bretnor, reference librarian at the Bancroft Library. Her Foreword includes background and biographical material on Kemble, and she annotates the *History*, corrects some errors, and adds a sizable number of names of newspapers and of persons. Newspapers are indexed by place of publication, title, and county; there is a separate index of editors and publishers as well as a general index.

The book is well printed and contains reproductions of daguerreotypes and newspaper mastheads. Kemble's wide experience and knowledge, Mrs. Bretnor's librarianship, and their extensive research, combine in a work which should be treasured by anyone interested in the field.

Fred B. Rogers, San Francisco, California

■ CALIFORNIA HERITAGE: AN ANTHOLOGY OF HISTORY AND LITERATURE. **By John and Laree Caughey** (*Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1962*). *xii + 536 pp. Illustrations, additional reading selections, index of authors. $10.00.*

California, since the opening in the sixteenth century, has been an inspiration to writers; and the Caugheys have assembled some of the best of four centuries of verse, essay, fiction, history, and personal narrative. The selections are arranged in chronological groups which include the Indians, the coming of the Spaniards, the pastoral era, the American conquest, the Gold Rush, the young state, the passing of the frontier, the twentieth century, and the contemporary. The author list, which occupies over three pages, is a roll call of California's literati. The large number contributing precludes the use of long pieces, but each group of selections has its own introduction, and the result is a remarkably smooth tour. Photographs by Adams, Weston, Hyde, and Wright add distinction. Indeed, the book is an impressive sampling of the California experience.

■ WILLIAM BROWN IDE: BEAR FLAGGER. **By Fred Blackburn Rogers.** *Designed and printed by Lawton Kennedy in limited edition of 750 copies (San Francisco, John Howell, 1962). iv + 101 pp. Illustrations, portraits, map, appendixes, notes, index. $12.50.*

This is a critical biography of William B. Ide, overlander of 1845, public servant, and a principal in the 1846 Bear Flag Revolt in California, his chief claim to fame. Although his role in that affair is described, this is not a complete history of the Revolt. The book in large part is based on contemporary sources. Ide's letters home, his correspondence for the Springfield, Illinois *Sangamo Journal*, and his revolutionary proclamations in behalf of the incipient California Republic are extensively quoted, some in their entirety. Colonel Rogers takes a balanced view of his subject's part in the Bear Flag affair: Ide willingly joined it, accepted a full share of responsibility, but aloofness and zeal brought him much adverse criticism.

■ GOLD RUSH COUNTRY: GUIDE TO CALIFORNIA'S MOTHER LODE AND NORTHERN MINES. **By the editors of Sunset Books and Sunset Magazine.** *Foreword by Oscar Lewis (2d. ed. rev., Menlo Park, California, Lane Book Company, c. 1963). 101 pp. Illustrations, maps, index. $1.95 Paper.*

New edition of a popular guide. The arm-chair explorer will like the photographs which occupy about half the book.

■ DESERT BONANZA: THE STORY OF EARLY RANDSBURG, MOJAVE DESERT MINING CAMP. **By Marcia Rittenhouse Wynn.** *Western Lands and Water Series, II (Glendale, California, Arthur H Clark Company, 1963). xvi + 275 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, glossary, index. $8.50.*

This is an enlarged edition (first in 1949) of a sprightly written account of the Randsburg-Johannesburg mining district in the Mojave Desert in Southern California. Randsburg passed through three boom stages: The first followed the opening of the Yellow Aster Gold Mine in 1895; the others followed subsequent discoveries of tungsten and silver. The author grew up in the camp, and she relies heavily on her own experience and the reminiscences of others. In-

formative, anecdotal history, with well-selected contemporary photographs.

■ DEATH VALLEY AND THE CREEK CALLED FURNACE. **By Edwin Corle,** *with photographs by Ansel Adams. Foreword by Lawrence Clark Powell (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, c. 1962). ix + 60 pp. + 32 plates. $7.50.*

The publisher has made a handsome book of the chapters on Death Valley taken from the late Edwin Corle's book, *Desert Country*, first published in 1941 in the "American Folkways Series," and of thirty-two photographs from the artistic lens of Ansel Adams. There are stories of William L. Manley, the Bennett-Arcane party, the Lee brothers, Death Valley Scotty, Twenty-Mule Team, the Furnace at Furnace Creek, Twenty-three Skidoo, and other characters and incidents identified with California's most barren landscape. Adams sees shape, form, and history, as well as desolation and desert.

■ ADOLPH SUTRO: A BIOGRAPHY. **By Robert E. Stewart and Mary Frances Stewart** *(Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1962). xviii + 243 pp. Illustrations, endpaper maps and designs, notes, bibliography, index. $6.00.*

Scholarly, full-length study of the energetic man who came to California in the gold rush, doggedly pushed the Sutro Tunnel (designed to drain the mines of the Comstock) to completion, and became wealthy in San Francisco real estate. Many contemporary illustrations of the Nevada period and of the Sutro properties in San Francisco.

Bolton, De Voto, Turner

■ THE PADRE ON HORSEBACK: A SKETCH OF EUSEBIO FRANCISCO KINO, S. J., APOSTLE TO THE PIMAS. **By Herbert Eugene Bolton.** *Edited by John Francis Bannon, S. J. The American West, A Loyola University Press Reprint Series (Chicago, Loyola University Press, c. 1963). xvi + 90 pp. Portrait, illustrations, bibliography. $2.25 Paper, $3.00 Cloth.*

Facsimile reissue of a charming study of one of Bolton's favorite heroes of the Spanish Borderlands, first published in 1932. This edition is distinguished by a biographical sketch of Bolton by the editor, one of Bolton's students. In his introduction to the series the editor promises more books like this one in illustration of the rich pre-Anglo history of the American West. Bravo.

■ FOUR PORTRAITS AND ONE SUBJECT: BERNARD DEVOTO. *The Historian,* **by Catherine Drinker Bowen;** *The Writer,* **by Edith R. Mirrielees;** *The Citizen,* **by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.;** *The Personality,* **by Wallace Stegner;** *with a bibliography of his writings prepared by Julius P. Barclay with the collaboration of Elaine Helmer Parnie. Introduction* **by Wallace Stegner** *(Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1963). ix + 206 pp. Portrait, bibliography. $4.00.*

On October 1, 1960, the papers of the late Bernard DeVoto, which are now a part of the collections at Stanford University, were opened to general scholarly use. For the occasion four of his friends have written of the man as they knew him. The range of his mind is best stated in the most valuable part of the book, a listing in ninety-five pages of DeVoto's bibliography. This list includes four pages of unpublished items. The scholarly world will be grateful that the collection has been preserved intact and not dispersed.

■ FRONTIER AND SECTION: SELECTED ESSAYS OF FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER. **With an Introduction by Ray Allen Billington.** *Spectrum Books (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, c. 1961). x + 171 pp. $1.95 Paper.*

■ RISE OF THE NEW WEST, 1819–1829. *New foreword and bibliography* **by Ray Allen Billington** *(New*

York, Collier Books, 1962). 252 pp. Index. 95¢ Paper.

The first title contains some of his most influential essays. Included are "The Significance of History," "Problems in American History," "The Problem of the West," "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," "The West and American Ideals," "The Significance of the Section in American History," "Sections and Nation," and "Social Forces in American History." The second title reprints the historian's first book, originally published in 1906. Thanks to Editor Billington, who has now taken up residence at Huntington Library, much of the essential Turner has been brought within easy reach of everyone.

Southwest

■ PIONEER PRINTER: SAMUEL BANGS IN MEXICO AND TEXAS. **By Lota M. Spell** *(Austin, University of Texas Press, c. 1963). xii + 230 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. $5.00.*

Although Samuel Bangs learned the printing trade well in Boston, he probably did not realize that just being a printer would save his life. Most of his companions in the ill-fated Mina Expedition of 1817 were executed by Spanish Royalists soon after they landed at Soto la Marina as Mexican revolutionaries. But Bangs survived.

Commandante Arredondo realized the importance of printed propaganda, the necessity of printed orders, and the scarcity of competent printers; and this young New England printer was a man he needed. Bangs suffered as a prisoner, living in a dungeon and paving streets as a member of a chain gang, until his printing equipment arrived at Monterrey by muleback. The he enjoyed special, though very limited, privileges that launched him on a romantic career through the Mexican revolution.

He became José Manuel Bangs when he was baptized in 1819 at Monterrey, age twenty one. In 1821 he was technically released as a prisoner but still required to print for the government. After the revolt in Spain conditions in Mexico gave Bangs more opportunities for important printing. He was well known through the documents and proclamations he had printed at Monterrey and the newspaper at Saltillo.

In 1823 he left Mexico but returned in 1827 to Tamaulipas as government printer. Through this connection he eventually acquired lands in Texas. When his contract expired he accepted a position in Saltillo where he was remembered and sought by the government because of the quality of his printing. He moved often and expanded his enterprise by becoming an importer and supplier of printing equipment. He also established an apprentice system for teaching printers and thereby expanded his market for equipment.

With the establishment of the Texas Republic, Bangs became more of a newspaper publisher than a printer of proclamations and official orders. In those hectic days newspapers sprang up so fast, and the publishers moved from one town to another so rapidly, that the reader of this book can hardly keep track of them without making a chart. Dr. Spell has done a marvelous job of tracing the owners and their political connections. Since, fortunately for the researcher, this was before the days of the Associated Press, most papers carried news about other papers and their editors.

This book is much more than the story of Samuel Bangs. As background for Bangs' career, the author has described the political and sociological conditions of the period with references to the Inquisition, the Spanish Revolution, and the unrest in the North Mexican states and Texas. Her insight into the characters of General Xavier Mina and Father Servando Mier, who had great influence on Bangs, are especially interesting and significant.

The fact that three hundred fifty-nine items of Bangs' printing have been preserved attest to his importance. These are listed in Appendix I, and the descriptions indicate that the Spanish were, as always, excellent historians because Dr. Spell found most of her material in Mexican and Spanish archives.

Examples of printing done by Samuel Bangs prove that he was no ordinary craftsman. His typography reveals taste and a sense of proportion in spite of the fact that he operated under difficulties and that he often carried his equipment by muleback. Historians, no doubt, are more interested in his romantic exploits, his connection with the Mexican Revolution, his land ac-

quisitions in Texas, and the influence of the various newspapers he published.

Bangs was a conscientious printer. He was interested in the effects of his printing, not just in the printing itself. He took a personal interest in politics, in government, and in the sociological development of the new territories into which he ventured. His printing was useful in developing thought and understanding in an unsettled land, and he was a good typographer.

Although there is no doubt about Bangs being an important printer, there has been some question about his being the "first" printer in Texas. Dr. Spell must have had a hunch, because she pursued her search and study long after she had collected enough material for two or three books, and had published several articles. Finally, after thirty years of persistent and scholarly work, she has proved that the *Gaceta de Texas* with the Nacogdoches, 1813 date line was actually printed in Louisiana, leaving Bangs as the "first" as well as the best of the pioneer printers.

Carl Hertzog, El Paso, Texas

■ NEW MEXICO: A HISTORY OF FOUR CENTURIES. **By Warren Beck** *(Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, c. 1962). xii + 363 pp. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. $5.95.*

Professor Beck has attempted to meet the long-felt need for a standard, one-volume history of New Mexico. In this effort he has been able to condense the event-filled chronology of more than four centuries into 336 pages. What he has accomplished will satisfy the general reader, but will leave the more serious student of New Mexican history somewhat less than satisfied.

The author begins with a helpful geographical description of the state and then turns to the original inhabitants of the area before introducing the Spanish *conquistadores*. After treating the Spanish period, and, all too briefly, Mexican rule, he relates the events of the American conquest of 1846 and the subsequent movements and problems of the territorial period. He includes a chapter on the statehood movement, and three chapters on mining, agriculture, industry and transportation before concluding with an evaluation of twentieth century development.

Professor Beck's account is somewhat uneven. Catering to popular tastes he does full justice to the Lincoln County War and lawlessness throughout the territory, while giving only incidental consideration to territorial politics. The struggle between the civil and the military following Kearny's conquest is ignored. The treatment of the Indian question leaves much to be desired. Some of the author's difficulties may stem from his heavy reliance on secondary accounts, not all of which are the best. Moreover, his failure to utilize the works of such New Mexico scholars as Frank D. Reeve and the late Lansing Bloom is unfortunate. His frequent use of university theses and dissertations will, however, introduce many valuable and unused sources to scholars in the field.

The historical conflict resulting from the diverse cultural make-up of New Mexico compounds the chronological difficulties in writing a brief history of the state, and adds to the magnitude of the task. Some will accuse the author of showing a lack of sympathy toward the state and its people, particularly the *Hispano* and Indian elements, despite his announced objectivity. But this is the risk one takes in attempting to condense in one volume the complexities and diversities of four fascinating centuries of New Mexico history.

Robert W. Larson, Colorado State College

■ THE FABULOUS FRONTIER: TWELVE NEW MEXICO ITEMS. **By William A. Keleher** *(rev. ed., Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1962). xii + 339 pp. Illustrations, end-paper maps, notes, bibliography, index. $5.00.*

Enlarged edition (first in 1945) of a work portraying those who gave life and color to the history of southeastern New Mexico during the territorial period, 1870–1912. The lives of John Chisum, Pat Garrett, Albert B. Fall, Edward Doheny, J. J. Hagerman, Eugene M. Rhodes, and others are recounted.

■ PHOTOGRAPHER OF THE SOUTHWEST: ADAM CLARK VROMAN, 1856–1916. *Edited* **by Ruth I. Mahood,** *with the assistance of Robert A. Weinstein. Introduction by Beaumont Newhall (Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie Press, 1961). 127 pp. Portraits, plates. $12.50.*

Until the appearance of this fine book, the photography of A. C. Vroman was scarcely known. A bookseller in Pasadena and amateur photographer, Vroman traveled the Southwest (1895–1904), and with cumbersome view cameras, made beautiful, documentary photographs of the land, Indians, and Spanish colonial monuments. The recent discovery of the 2400-odd glass negatives, now in possession of the Los Angeles County Museum, is told by Ruth I. Mahood, curator of the history division. Beaumont Newhall has written an illuminating biographical essay, and William Webb adds an essay on the making of the high-fidelity prints from the original negatives. One hundred four photographs are used in this book; ninety-two are full page. These are portraits and scenes of southern California, Yosemite, California missions, Acoma and Zuñi, Hopi towns, New Mexico, Canyon de Chelly, and eastern United States.

■ PHOTO ALBUM OF YESTERDAY'S SOUTHWEST: A COLLECTION OF EARLY-DAY PHOTOGRAPHS, FROM THE 1860'S TO 1910, SHOWING THE FRONTIER FACE OF THE DESERT SOUTHWEST. *Compiled* by **Charles E. Shelton** (*Palm Desert, California, Desert Magazine, c. 1961*). *191 pp. Sources. $15.00.*

The compiler's Southwest is southern California, Nevada, and Arizona Territory. Included in the 197 photographs are the works of Beaman, Hillers, O'Sullivan, Camelius Fly, Erwin Baer, Willis Haynes, Frederick Monsen, and A. C. Vroman. Refreshingly, standard subjects (Geronimo, etc.) have been left out. Realistic documentation has governed the selection. The volume is attractively bound to resemble a contemporary album.

■ ARIZONA CAVALCADE: THE TURBULENT TIMES. *Edited* by **Joseph Miller.** *Illustrated by Ross Santee* (*New York, Hastings House, c. 1962*). *xi + 306 pp. Index. $5.95.*

This volume completes a trilogy (prior titles: *The Arizona Story* and *Arizona: The Last Frontier*) of early newspaper stories and other accounts of the turbulent progress toward statehood. Here articles from the contemporary press are grouped in sections on San Xavier del Bac, the Indian wars, the settlements (Prescott, Yuma, Phoenix), gambling and saloon era, and lost mines. The editor has caught the flavor of the time with some choice samples of free-swinging journalism.

■ AN ARIZONA CHRONOLOGY: THE TERRITORIAL YEARS, 1846–1912. **By Douglas D. Martin** (*Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1963*). *80 pp. Bibliography, index. $1.95 Paper.*

Flavorful recapture of the era has been gleaned from newspapers and other sources by a distinguished writer. Source for each entry given.

Northwest

■ DIARY & SKETCHBOOK OF A JOURNEY TO "AMERICA" IN 1866, & RETURN TRIP UP THE MISSOURI RIVER TO FORT BENTON, MONTANA. **By Granville Stuart.** *Reprinted from the Virginia City* Montana Post *of January, 1867, with an Introduction by Carl Schaefer Dentzel* (*Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1963*). *xi + 51 pp. Illustrations, map, bibliographical notes. $20.00.*

Granville Stuart left his mark on the Upper Missouri country and the Northern Rocky Mountains. He was a frontiersman who lived history as well as expertly reporting and recording it. As Carl Dentzel says: "As an adventurer, miner, trader, storekeeper, cattleman, community leader, historian and diplomat he is without a peer. He was part and parcel of practically everything of importance that happened in Montana Territory and adjacent lands from the first year of his arrival as a youth (coming from the gold fields of California) in 1858 to his death in 1918. Although his broad experience embraces more time, his invaluable journals, published under the title *Forty Years on the Frontier*, reveal his exceptional abilities in a unique period of history. However, as with many outstanding men, not all of Stuart's talents were revealed or appreciated during his lifetime. . . ."

What is not generally known, and mostly what makes this small book perhaps worth $20.00, is the fact that Granville Stuart was exceptionally talented in sketching small, graphic, documentary (and sometimes artistic) pencil, pen, and water-color drawings. His pictorial work, which may not exceed 150 items, is now coming to light. Forty-two exciting Granville Stuart drawings appear in this book in approximately original size. Some of the better ones were done in an artist's sketchbook. The remainder, as so many of his art works, were done on the paper accessible to him on the frontier—mostly cheap, blue-ruled memoranda and diary sheets of about 3½ x 5½ inches.

Some of the more impressive illustrations are: a superb wash drawing of Fort Campbell; an unidentified "mood" drawing of a tepee, Indian and his horse, which equals Miller, Bodmer or Catlin; and three views of Fort Benton. Other forts include Union, Berthold, Rice, and Sully. There are drawings of Usher's Landing; Floyd's Bluff; Johnny Grant's home at Deer Lodge, 1865; the Gold Creek Mountains, Virginia City, Montana, 1865 (unfinished); and of course the steamer *W. B. Dance* which in 1866 brought him from St. Louis to Montana Territory.

The text is not long, but it is flavorful and important for authenticity of detail. Stuart was a keen observer. With Judges Dance and Worden, he traveled for six months in an assortment of conveyances through Utah, Wyoming, Dakota and Nebraska territories, and thence to St. Louis. Paying his way with Montana placer gold, he enjoyed the theater, music, shopping and sightseeing. He traveled to Joliet, Chicago, Davenport, and St. Louis and visited relatives at West Liberty, Missouri. Departing from St. Louis, April 14, on "the splendid boat," his trip upstream is typical of the trials and tribulations of early steamboat travel on the Big Muddy.

This desirable book is a collector's item. The awkward format of 8½ inches high by 11¼ inches long will disturb librarians, and scholars will probably complain of the price. Yet in bringing together for the first time the rarely seen text of the journey and by wedding it with the memorable art of Granville Stuart, Glen Dawson is entitled to much credit.

Michael Stephen Kennedy, Montana Historical Society

■ A HISTORY OF STEAMBOATING ON THE UPPER MISSOURI RIVER. **By William E. Lass** *(Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, c. 1962). xiv + 215 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $5.50.*

Notwithstanding the extensive and popular coverage given to steamboating on the Missouri River, there has long been a need for a more scholarly, less romantic approach to the subject. Mr. Lass has made a definite contribution in this direction. By limiting his study to steamboating on the upper river above Sioux City and largely to that period after 1860, the usual overemphasis on the fur trade has been avoided. His emphasis is primarily on the commercial aspects of the river navigation. The business records of the private steamboaters, along with similar records maintained by the United States Army and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, have provided him with the best of his sources.

In the main this is a history of the Missouri River entrepreneur, his financial and managerial problems, the cutthroat competition in which he participated, the resulting booms and busts faced by the river towns, and the impact on the river trade of the gradual extension of the railroads into the vast country drained by the Missouri. The importance to the private steamboat companies of the indirect subsidies of Indian annuities and army supplies shipped by the government is placed in better perspective than in previously written histories. Minimal attention is paid to the colorful men who actually operated the steamboats, to their sometimes illustrious passengers, and to their memory-based anecdotes, so common in other Missouri River histories.

This is objectively written history, based on the documentary evidence of recorded freight and passenger rates and tonnage tables. The student of Missouri River history will find it valuable.

George F. Williams, Northern Montana College, Havre

■ THE SALMON KING OF OREGON: R. D. HUME AND THE PACIFIC FISHERIES. **By Gordon B. Dodds** *(Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1963). xiii + 257 pp. Portrait, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. $6.00.*

The career of Robert Deniston Hume (1845–1908), on the Rogue River in southwestern Oregon is a chapter in the economic history of the Northwest. Frontier capi-

talist, pioneer in the development of the salmon-canning industry, conservationist, and monopolist, Dodds looks upon his work as a regional case study of a lesser businessman in the great age of a monopoly—a type, he says, not studied extensively by economic historians. Publication sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History.

■ THE IDAHO ALMANAC: TERRITORIAL CENTENNIAL EDITION, 1863–1963 (*Boise, Idaho Department of Commerce and Development, 1963?*). *ix + 669 pp. Index. $3.50 Paper, $4.50 Cloth.*

Sections on land, natural resources, people and government, industry and commerce, and counties. A work of lasting usefulness.

Conservation and the Public Domain

■ FIRE AND WATER: SCIENTIFIC HERESY IN THE FOREST SERVICE. **By Ashley L. Schiff** (*Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1962*). *ix + 225 pp. Notes, index. $5.00.*

The author charges that the United States Forest Service has not made major scientific progress in the use of fire as a tool of forest management and in the use of forest in flood control. He traces this impairment to administrative pressures on the research efforts of the Forest Service.

■ THE POLITICS OF CONSERVATION: CRUSADES AND CONTROVERSIES, 1897–1913. **By Elmo R. Richardson.** *University of California Publications in History, LXX* (*Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1962*). *ix + 207 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $4.00.*

Drawing upon the little-used resource collections west of the Rocky Mountains, as well as conventional materials, Richardson assaults oversimplification in conservation history. In the West, opposition to the conservation movement was not well organized; there was indeed decisive support for it. A new analysis of conservation as an issue in national politics, including the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy and the West's claim on the post of Secretary of the Interior, are examined.

■ THE PUBLIC LANDS: STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE PUBLIC DOMAIN. *Edited with an Introduction* **by Vernon Carstensen** (*Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1963*). *xxvi + 522 pp. Charts, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. $6.75.*

A selection of some of the most useful articles on the public lands that have appeared in historical and other journals over the past fifty years. The editor has kept in mind those aspects of the subject that have most interested historians. The articles are grouped under headings relating to origins of the system, distribution of lands, criticism of public land policy, and problems of protection and management. The appendix reproduces short statistical and technical articles not easily available elsewhere. Students of the public domain will recognize essayists Payson J. Treat, Joseph Ellison, Paul W. Gates, Fred A. Shannon, Sanford A. Mosk, Marion Clawson, and others. Appearing in 1962, the volume is offered as a commemoration of the sesquicentennial of the establishment of the General Land Office, predecessor of the Bureau of Land Management. Some of these articles will probably be useful for another fifty years.

■ OUR LANDED HERITAGE: THE PUBLIC DOMAIN, 1776–1936. **By Roy M. Robbins.** *Bison Books* (*Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1962*). *x + 450 pp. Illustrations, maps, charts, bibliography, index. $1.95 Paper.*

This is a welcome reissue of a pioneering work on the history of the public domain, first published in 1942. Robbins' analysis is not limited to the evolution of legislative policies concerning the public lands; he also traces with great care the practical implementation of those policies and their broad impact upon American society during the period from 1776 to 1936.

Western Bibliography

■ LEROY R. AND ANN W. HAFEN: THEIR WRITINGS AND THEIR NOTABLE COLLECTION OF AMERICANA GIVEN TO BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY LIBRARY *(n.p., 1962). 109 pp.* [*Available from Arthur H. Clark Co., and Fred A. Rosenstock.*] *$2.50 Paper.*

Includes portraits and biographical sketches of the Hafens. Their bibliography, largely in the field of western history, occupies nine pages. The remainder of the volume consists of an alphabetical listing of the Hafen Collection of Americana. Titles in the area of the American West predominate.

A Western Gathering

■ COVERED BRIDGES OF THE WEST. A HISTORY AND ILLUSTRATED GUIDE. WASHINGTON, OREGON, CALIFORNIA. **By Kramer Adams** *(Berkeley, Howell-North Books, 1963). 146 pp. Illustrations, index. $5.95.*

At one time more than a thousand covered bridges spanned the waterways west of the Rocky Mountains. This book pinpoints the location of 120, including a few built in this decade. Descriptions of each are given, there are diagrams and two hundred photographs, and much detailed and valuable factual information. Among other things, Adams explains why bridges are covered. If anyone is so inclined, he will find enough basic data in the text to build his own covered bridge.

■ SCHOOLCRAFT: THE LITERARY VOYAGER OR MUZZENIEGUN. *Edited with an Introduction* by **Philip P. Mason** *(East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1962). xxvi + 193 pp. Portrait, end-paper facsimiles, notes, index. $5.00.*

In 1953 Michigan State University Press began a laudable program of republishing the works of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. This, the fourth volume to appear, consists of the first publication of a manuscript magazine written at Sault Ste. Marie during the winter of 1826–1827. Fifteen issues of the "Literary Voyager" or "Muzzeniegun" (from a Chippewa word meaning "printed document" or "book") were issued which contained articles and other material on many aspects of Indian life, including superstitions, burials, fur trade, songs, totems, warfare with the Sioux, and biographical sketches of prominent Indians. The "Voyager" is recognized as one of the first of its kind to appear in the frontier West. The editor's learned notes add much to the usefulness of the volume.

■ PRAIRIE TRAILS & COW TOWNS: THE OPENING OF THE OLD WEST. **By Floyd Benjamin Streeter** *(New York, Devin Adair Company, 1963). viii + 214 pp. Illustrations, end-paper maps, notes, bibliography, index. $4.50.*

Tales of post-Civil War life on the trails, on the buffalo range, and in Kansas cow towns. A rich package, full of authentic life, drawn from interviews and seldom-used newspapers and archival resources. This is a new edition with added photographs and maps. The first, now rare, was published in 1936.

■ THE GREAT ENDURANCE HORSE RACE: 600 MILES ON A SINGLE MOUNT, 1908, FROM EVANSTON, WYOMING, TO DENVER. **By Jack Schaefer.** *Original drawings by Sol Baer Fielding. Limited edition of 750 copies (Santa Fe, Stagecoach Press, 1963). 59 pp. Frontispiece, illustrations. $4.50.*

This is a day-by-day account of an amazing horse race. Requirements: one man, one horse. Twenty-five entered the line-up. A week later Workman and Wykert came in together to share first and second prizes. The horse race showed what a man and a horse could do.

Shreds from Henry Wagner's Mantle *continued*

people to punch cards, pour into it booksellers' catalogs, Library of Congress cards, and our correspondence with collectors and scholars in the hope that it will eventually spew forth a workable bibliography? It would probably be easier to get a foundation grant for such a project than to establish one man with a shoebox full of cards in a stack carrel. But I do not think the machine is the answer. What we need is not information retrieval but judgment and the distillation of knowledge. And of that you get no more out of the machine than you put in.

If we are to have the bibliographies we need, there are two courses of action which should be considered. The first is a long-range program of education. Both the academic world and the library hierarchy must be convinced that bibliography cannot be produced by a clerk with a pair of scissors and a jar of paste or by a curator in his lunch hour, and that a first-rate bibliography is as much of a scholarly achievement as a doctoral dissertation on *The Effects of being witty on position in the social structure of a small group* (a Cornell thesis), or *A Psychophysical investigation of triangular shape* (University of Illinois 1957), or even *The Role of controlled exercise in growth and development of armadillo quadruplets* (that one was New York University).

On the day when every major research library has at least one bibliographer on its staff, jointly financed by the library and the history department, and when future Wagners and Eameses are not only recognized as such but also encouraged to follow their natural bent and rewarded for doing so, that objective will be realized.

What to do in the meantime? I am as averse as the next man to research by committee, but in the circumstances in which we now find ourselves, the most likely means of getting a few of the bibliographies we need so desperately within the foreseeable future would seem to lie in some sort of collaborative effort. No doubt if we were to set up an Institute of American Historical Bibliography and staff it with executive secretaries, project coordinators, liaison officers, and research associates, we should have no trouble in securing sizeable grants from one foundation or another. Whether we should ever produce a bibliography is another question.

Nor do I propose a Committee of Twelve, or of six, or any committee at all. I would simply suggest that the collaboration of one librarian with one collector or one bookseller or one historian might succeed in producing a work which would be as free of technical error and confusion as the competence of the former permitted, while having the advantage of the experience, the enthusiasm, or the scholarly knowledge of the latter. What librarian would not gladly cooperate with a Graff or a Streeter, a Wessen or an Eberstadt, a Billington or a Nasatir in such a work?

This paper has been typical of library literature in that it has reiterated common knowledge, propounded problems with which everyone is familiar, and proposed solutions that are either impractical or unlikely, all with a pomposity of manner appropriate to the prolixity of the style. The familiarity of the problem however does not dispel its urgency. We are experiencing today a great rebirth of interest in the history of the American West. If that interest is to result in fruitful labor instead of mere frustration, we must provide the historian, not only with the materials for his research, but also with some kind of lucid and authoritative guide to them.

Frederick Jackson Turner *continued*

with its future practitioners, his students, represented by Merle Curti and Carl Becker, who became leaders of a great host of distinguished disciples. Turner's main contribution in his theorizing was perhaps best phrased not by a disciple but a critic, Charles A. Beard, who wrote in a letter of 1928, "It was Mr. Turner who led in putting history on a scientific plane."

In the course of a long preoccupation with Turner's writings and his papers at the Huntington Library, at Harvard, at the University of Wisconsin, and at other document repositories I have contracted intellectual debts that are difficult to repay. I am particularly indebted to the brilliant essayists on Turner, Carl Becker, Merle Curti, Fulmer Mood, Avery Craven, Ray Billington, and Norman Harper. Most of all, however, this paper, which is part of a book-length study on Turner's thought and his significance as a teacher and historian, is based on what he said about himself, especially in his later years. This information was culled from a large mass of Turner's unpublished essays and lectures, his research materials, and his correspondence with Carl Becker, Merle Curti, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Arthur H. Buffinton, Max Farrand, Isaiah Bowman, William E. Dodd, Charles A. Beard, Edgar Eugene Robinson, Harry Elmer Barnes, James Harvey Robinson, and others. The large portion

of this manuscript material is described in "The Frederick Jackson Turner Papers in the Huntington Library," by Ray A. Billington and Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Arizona and the West*, II (Spring, 1960), pp. 73–77. In his letters Turner sometimes referred his students to his American Historical Association presidential address, "Social Forces in American History" (published in *The Frontier in American History*, New York, 1920, pp. 311–34), for what he called, "my general ideas of the scope and methods."

Herbert Eugene Bolton *continued*

work, though how to compare such a book with the five volumes of *Anza's California Expeditions* (1930) is not clearly revealed.

Works of wide scope come down to two: *The Colonization of North America* (1920) and *The Spanish Borderlands* (1921). Bolton fully intended to add to them a broad canvas on the history of the Americas. He talked about it constantly and to such an extent that he pre-empted the field without publishing the book. Why he did not carry through is something I cannot fully explain in the manner of Ray Billington's diagnosis of Frederick Jackson Turner.

I am sure Bolton did not want this book to have the pedestrian quality of the *Colonization* volume. He wanted it to be rich in detail, a major strength in his *Outpost of Empire and Rim of Christendom*. It was one thing, however, to get that kind of verve in books of small compass, and something else to achieve it in a work with continental sweep. In chapter drafts that he read to me his enthusiasm for the narrative seemed likely to carry him to a ten-volume work rather than a more practical two. I can imagine other deterrents. After a while the all-knowing bookmen were saying that the course was going into decline and that it was too late for such a book. Bolton did not bring out his history of the hemisphere.

Although almost half of his graduate students became Western Americanists, Bolton is almost always classified as a Latin Americanist. It is true that under his direction the Bancroft Library turned its major efforts to acquisitions on Spanish North America—the southern third or quarter of what had been Hubert Howe Bancroft's search list. Since Bolton was both a Latin Americanist and a Western history man, what has led so many astray may have been his own inspiration in naming his favorite field the Spanish borderlands. Had he called it the American borderlands once Spanish, there might be more recognition that the great bulk of his writing has pertinence in the subject matter to which the Western History Association is dedicated.

It can be argued that his idea of the continental or hemispheric perspective is the most advisable setting for studies that may seem to be contained within the United States, including studies of the American West. Also it can be argued that his Spanish borderlands belong as an ingredient in the histories both of Spanish America and of the United States or the American West. These ideas seem to me to deserve more attention than they ordinarily have received in our fraternity.

Since Bolton concentrated on colonial studies—America's ancient history—it was inevitable that as time went on his subject matter and his findings would seem to have less bearing on the present and its problems.

His dream for hemisphere history has not come true.

His borderlands history struck many historians as "way out"—a fringe area to Spanish America, and a fringe area to the United States and thus to the American West. If that were so, there would be fewer historians eligible to listen to him than to Frederick Jackson Turner, who generalized on the whole West and, in fact, on the whole nation, or to Walter Prescott Webb, who generalized on the whole world. His Spanish borderlands are rejected by Latin Americanists and neglected by historians of the West. The general histories and bibliographies of Latin America often are constructed as though these outlying provinces were never Spanish. Western writers tend to treat them as though they were an exotic prior figuration extraneous to all that developed later.

Bolton's ideas may have been rebuffed, but his writings have not been supplanted, and there is no reason to think that they will soon be in need of redoing.

His students and his students' students are a sizeable work force, and their writings are a significant supplement to his own. A good fraction bear on the American West.

For the foreseeable future he has prodigious stature. He was the foremost trainer of Latin American and Western American scholars and, by the statistics, a worthy successor to Hubert Howe Bancroft. He is ripe for legend as the Paul Bunyan of western historians.

About the Authors

Gale McGee *is United States senator from Wyoming and in private life is professor of history at University of Wyoming.*

Ray Allen Billington *was prominently identified with the Organizing Committee of the WHA and served as its first president, was a professor of Western history at Northwestern University for many years, is the author of many books and articles dealing with the American West, and is presently senior research associate at the Huntington Library.*

Bert M. Fireman *is the executive vice president of the Arizona Historical Foundation, Phoenix, Arizona, and a guiding spirit behind its activities. A native of San Francisco, he has resided in Arizona most of his life, where he has engaged in newspaper work and for many years was a columnist for the* "Phoenix Gazette." *He has published articles in several western historical journals.*

Philip W. Sultz *teaches at the Rhode Island School of Design and spends his summers as a ranger for the National Park Service in the Jackson Hole area.*

Wilbur R. Jacobs *is professor of history at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and is the author of several books and many studies on American history and the West, including a forthcoming volume dealing with Frederick Jackson Turner.*

John W. Caughey, *like many specialists on the Westward Movement and the West, was a student of Herbert E. Bolton. He is professor of history, University of California, Los Angeles, longtime editor of the* "Pacific Historical Review," *and the author of numerous books and many articles on a wide range of subjects.*

Joe B. Frantz *was a student and colleague of Walter Prescott Webb. He is professor of history at the University of Texas, and is director of the television project at that institution, "History of American Civilization—by Its Interpreters."*

Walker D. Wyman *is a professional historian, author of several books on the American West and presently president of Wisconsin State College, Whitewater, Wisconsin.*

John W. Jenkins *has been chief of the Western Museum Laboratory, National Park Service, San Francisco, since 1956. Before that time he was chief curator of the museum in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and has had wide experience in the design and planning of museums, both on the state and national level.*

Archibald Hanna, Jr., *is curator, Western Americana Collection, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.*

Detail of belltower of Carmel Mission. Cliff swallows favor this mission as they do the one at San Juan Capistrano. Large, 1000-pound bell was cast in Mexico in 1807. Crude Latin inscription cast into bellrim: "Praise him on high-sounding cymbals: praise him on cymbals of joy: let every spirit praise the Lord." Photograph by John S. Weir, from forthcoming pictorial history of the California Missions to be published by Lane Book Company in the fall.